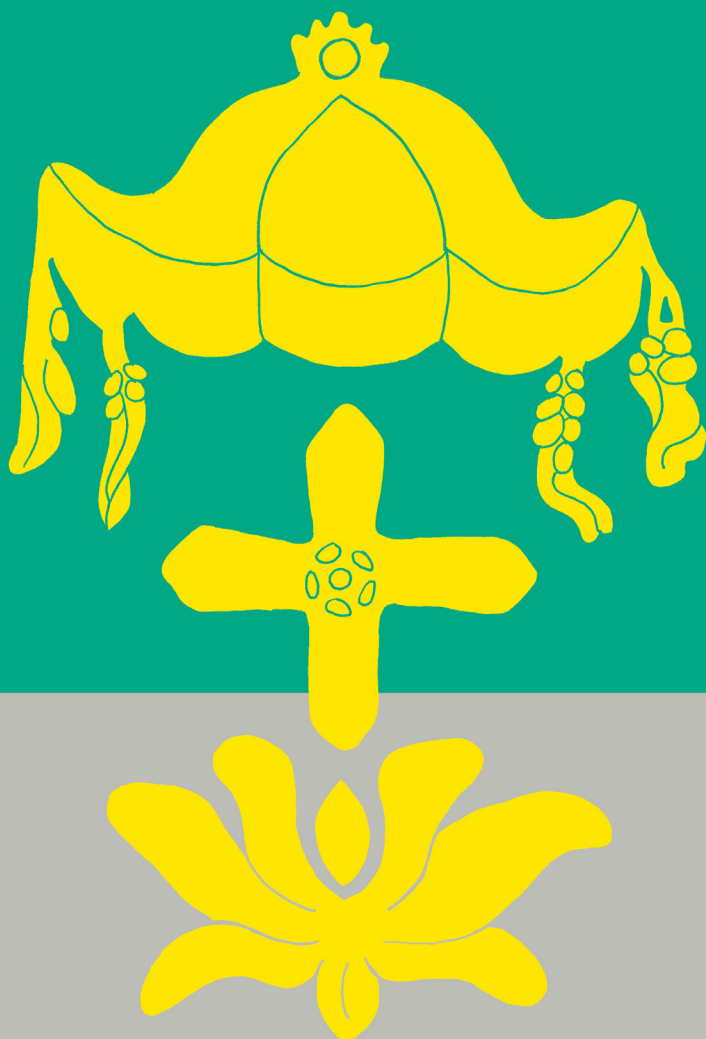


Anton Pritula

‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta: Patriarch, Poet and Scribe

*East Syriac Poetry and Manuscript Culture
of the Ottoman Period*



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A LIFETIME PORTRAIT

‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta: Patriarch, Poet and Scribe

*East Syriac Poetry and Manuscript Culture of the
Ottoman Period*

By

Anton Pritula



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In Memoriam
Martin Tamcke
(1955–2024)



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Introduction

1 Objectives and Structure

The choice of topic for this study is not accidental, since the time under consideration was the second flowering—after the Syriac Renaissance (11th–early 14th centuries)—of the East Syriac literary tradition, which took place in the early Ottoman period. Moreover, it was in the second half of the 16th century that a new patriarchal line of the East Syriac Church, bound in union to Rome, emerged. The ecclesiological structure and literary tradition of the new Church began to take shape at that time. In all these processes, ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta (d. 1570), an eminent poet and scribe, as well as the second patriarch of the Chaldean (East Syriac Catholic) Church, played a crucial role, as both a spiritual authority and the poetic trendsetter of his time.

Despite this author’s important role in the history of Syriac literature, his legacy remains understudied and his works are, with few exceptions, unpublished. In general, there is comparatively little study of Syriac poetry from the Ottoman period, despite some seminal works in this area, most notably by Heleen Murre-van den Berg¹ and Alessandro Mengozzi.²

It should be noted, however, that the poetry of this period is much better documented by manuscripts than is that of the Syriac Renaissance or any earlier period, even though these are much better studied. Notably, we have been able to identify several manuscript autographs of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta, whereas almost no autographs have survived from authors of previous epochs. In addition to many previously unknown poetic texts by ‘Abdīšō’, his autographs contain colophons and scribal notes which provide us with important information about the author’s life and his contacts with contemporaries.

All the aforementioned has resulted in the writing of this book.

One of the book’s goals is therefore to study and make available the extensive poetic legacy of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta. Another objective is to study ‘Abdīšō’s creative interaction with his contemporaries, especially the literati from the circle of Gazarta and the towns surrounding it, at the greatest height of the Otto-

1 H. Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures. The Church of the East in the Eastern Ottoman Provinces (1500–1850)* (ECS 21; Louvain: Peeters, 2015).

2 A. Mengozzi, *Israel of Alqosh and Joseph of Telkepe. A Story in a Truthful Language. Religious Poems in Vernacular Syriac (North Iraq, 17th century)*, vol. 1, 2. (CSCO 589, *Scriptores Syri*. 230; Lovanii: Peeters, 2002); A. Mengozzi, “Suraye wa-Phrangaye. Late East-Syriac Poetry on Historical Events in Classical Syriac and Sureth,” *JAS* 22.1 (2008): 3–14.

man Empire. Thus, this study also attempts to reconstruct the literary circle to which ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta belonged, from the middle to the second half of the 16th century. We have also aimed to identify the literary canon and the major themes in poetry from this period, as well as the factors that influenced their development.

‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta’s activities as a man of letters extended beyond poetry proper, as he collated and distributed manuscripts of various texts of the church. Nevertheless, poetry formed an important part of manuscript culture of the time and all or nearly all of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta’s original works are poetic. It was not uncommon for this author to insert his own verses into the manuscripts of other texts he was copying.

The most general task of this book, therefore, can be formulated as follows: to determine the role of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta in the East Syriac poetic and manuscript culture of his time and his influence on the ongoing development of this tradition. Manuscript culture here refers to the totality of texts distributed in various manuscripts and their means of transmission, which is inextricably linked to the copying and circulation of manuscripts themselves, remembering that manuscript copying was still the only form of textual transmission in the Middle East at this time.

A peculiarity of the transmission of poetic forms considered in this book is the absence of a unified corpus, analogous to an individual author’s poetry collections or books of liturgical poetry. The former were widespread, for instance, in Persian medieval poetry and were called *dīwans*, that is, collections of pieces by one author, grouped according to their form.³ In the Syriac poetic tradition, only a few of these are known: notably those of Bar ‘Ebrōyō,⁴ Khāmīs bar Qardāḥē,⁵ or the famous *Paradise of Eden* by ‘Abdīšō’ bar Brīkā, which consists of poem-sections.⁶ Liturgical poetic books are usually structured according to the church calendar, such as the *Wardā* hymnological collection.⁷

3 For instance, see Z.N. Vorozheykina, *Isfakhanskaya shkola poetov i literaturnaya zhizn’ Irana v predmongol’skoye vremya: XII–nachalo XIII vv.* [Исфаханская школа поэтов и литературная жизнь Ирана в предмонгольское время: XII–начало XIII вв.] (M.: Nauka, GRVL, 1984).

4 See F.Yu. Dolabani, *Mūmrē w-mūšḥātā d-sīmīn l-mār Yōḥannān bar Ma’dani paṭṭiyarkā d-Anṭīyokā* (Jerusalem: Monastery of Saint Mark, 1929).

5 See *Kāmīs bar Qardāḥē, Mēmrē w-Mušḥāthā*, ed. Šlēmōn Īšō’ Ḥoṣabbā ([Dohuk]: Nūhadrā, 2002).

6 See H. Younansardaroud, “‘Abdīšō’ Bar Brīkā’s († 1318) Book of Paradise: A Literary Renaissance?” in *The Syriac Renaissance*, ed. by H. Teule, C. Fotesco Tauwinkl (ECS 9; Leuven; Paris; Walpole: Peeters, 2010), 195–205.

7 See *Kunnāš mušḥātā d-Gīwargīs Wardā Arbīlāyā*, ed. Roni Patros, Duhok: Nuhdara, 2014; A. Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection. Study and Critical Edition*, Hrsg.

The texts under consideration here have not survived in a single collection and were probably never combined into one. The reasons for this will be discussed in the course of this study. This peculiarity of the textual transmission could not but affect the structure of this work. Obviously, when working on such a group of texts, it is not relevant to speak of a critical edition, since it is impossible to define an archetype or original form of the collection, or to reconstruct its structure on the basis of existing recensions and versions. Strictly speaking, it is incorrect to even use the term *recension* or *redaction* in this case. This is merely a matter of different types of manuscripts where poetic works of various forms attributed to this author occur. It is rather common for these pieces not to be repeated in different manuscripts.

For the same reason, the verification of poems ascribed to ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta is a separate problem, requiring an individual solution for each text (or group of texts) that occur in particular manuscript types. The character of the material has largely determined the structure of this study, which is organized according to the different groups of manuscripts containing the works of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta and focusing on various aspects related to them.

The book consists of six chapters, each of which includes several sections.

Chapter 1 contains a brief overview of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta’s biography, as well as a general characterization of his poetic heritage. The works of this author are grouped by forms and briefly classified. However, we have not set ourselves the task of compiling a comprehensive essay analyzing all the poetic forms that existed in Syriac literature during this period. This task has been accomplished by Murre-van den Berg, to whose seminal work we refer as necessary.⁸

Chapter 2 examines manuscripts of various works copied by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta. For the first time, available manuscripts written in his hand are discussed. Since ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta’s colophons and scribal notes contain valuable information about his life, his professional activities and his contacts, they are reproduced and carefully considered in the relevant sections of this chapter. The manuscripts themselves represent a valuable witness of the literary tastes and interests of the East Syriac church elite of the period in question.

Chapter 3 discusses previously unstudied poetic works composed by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta and his contemporaries that reflect their connections with each other in the context of ecclesiastical life and also contain valuable information about the literary life of Gazarta and neighboring towns in the 16th century.

M. Tamcke (Göttinger Orientforschungen, I. Reihe: Syriaca 47; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015).

8 See Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 322–326.

Some of these texts also reflect new features in the life of the church community to which ‘Abḏišō’ of Gazarta belonged, such as poems dedicated by him to the popes of Rome.

Chapter 4 focuses on liturgical poetic texts attributed to ‘Abḏišō’ of Gazarta in various manuscripts. Various types of these poetic works are considered, along with peculiarities of their use and circulation. They seem to reflect a very important aspect of ‘Abḏišō’ of Gazarta’s work—the creation of liturgical literature for the new Church.

Chapter 5 deals with verses written in ‘Abḏišō’ of Gazarta’s hand, which are incorporated in the manuscripts of various ecclesiastical texts copied by him; the manuscripts themselves have been examined as sources of historical and biographic information in Ch. 2 of this work. With a few exceptions, the poems in question do not occur in copies of the works ascribed to ‘Abḏišō’ copied by other scribes. Therefore, their attribution and analysis is a separate scholarly problem requiring a special approach. Its solution may shed light on how textual transmission and selection of poetry functioned in East Syriac manuscript culture during the period in question.

Chapter 6 focuses on the circulation of two manuscripts written by ‘Abḏišō’ of Gazarta that were inscribed with later poetic notes belonging to various churchmen, many of whom were pilgrims to Jerusalem. These texts contain important information about pilgrimages and also testify to the widespread dissemination of poetry within the East Syriac community in the Ottoman period. They also document active circulation of manuscripts and their role in the religious life of the community.

Since the poems considered in this book have not been previously published or studied, they are reproduced in their entirety from existing manuscripts with a translation. Their introduction into academic circulation is also one of the main objectives of this work. Since these poems are inextricably linked to the subject of our study, we have placed each of them inside a corresponding section. At the same time, for the convenience of references to them, we have numbered them with Roman numerals, in contrast to the Arabic numbering of the sections. The first number of a text corresponds to the chapter number. The study makes regular reference to a relevant text that is located immediately after the discussion in a relevant section.

As noted above, a feature of this group of texts is the absence of a single collection or corpus. The publication of all the poems hypothetically belonging to ‘Abḏišō’ of Gazarta from various manuscripts, of which there are hundreds, is not possible or even advisable. The choice of texts for study and publication was determined by a combination of several factors: firstly, the importance of the text for our study, and secondly, the popularity and dissemination

of the text. It is for this reason that here, for example, ‘Aḇdīšō’ of Gazarta’s poems dedicated to his contemporaries are actively touched upon. Such texts are important for reconstructing the literary circle and church life of the time in question. Some works, such as the *turgāmā* on Mār Qūryāqōs, seem important to study due to their popularity and inclusion in standard liturgical books (see Chapter 4, Section 2.4; Text IV.1). Additionally, special attention has been paid to the poems written in ‘Aḇdīšō’ of Gazarta’s hand because of the unique value of this material, not available until quite recently. In general, however, we have endeavored to present samples of all possible poetic forms and types in which this poet worked.

In the reproduction of the original text of Syriac poetry, we have retained the colour red in the titles and letters of the acrostic where this was done in the Syriac manuscript that served as the base manuscript for the text. It should be noted that in a number of cases there are no such colour selections in the manuscripts, which we have also retained in the edition.

An Appendix (Appendix 1) accompanying the book contains a detailed list of ‘Aḇdīšō’ of Gazarta’s works. It is different from the similar, fundamental list compiled by Heleen Murre-van den Berg, where ‘Aḇdīšō’s poems are placed alongside pieces by other East Syriac authors of the Ottoman period,⁹ in two respects. Firstly, our list is based directly on analysis of the extensive manuscript collections in the Middle East, which until recently were not available online. This has allowed us to significantly expand and refine our knowledge, which was previously based only on catalogue descriptions. It has also allowed us to discover many works by this author, most of which were unmentioned in catalogues. Secondly, we have tried to cover each short piece, down to individual poetic lines, attributed to ‘Aḇdīšō’, indicating its exact location in every manuscript where it can be found. This should prove helpful for researchers engaged in further study of the poetic heritage of ‘Aḇdīšō’ of Gazarta and his contemporaries.

In the current research, we have made extensive use of Middle Eastern manuscript collections digitized and catalogued by HMML (Hill Museum and Manuscript Library) and available on the vHMML website since 2017. This resource has made the writing of this book possible by providing access to thousands of previously unknown texts. It is particularly relevant for the study of short poems, which are often located between main works, on flyleaves, or in “paratextual” parts of a manuscript, such as scribal introductions and colophons, and usually are not covered in catalogues. The texts considered in this

9 See Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 322–326.

study occur primarily in the manuscripts of the Chaldean Church collections, which we will discuss in more detail below.

In order to identify manuscripts of interest, a walk-through of all available collections is therefore necessary. Such a walk-through also gives the researcher an idea, albeit preliminary, of statistical patterns of distribution and evolution of certain verse texts, as well as their correlation with certain types of manuscripts. Previously, this view could not be gained from the Syriac manuscript collections in Europe and the United States alone, due to the random selection and paucity compared to the overall manuscript production in the Middle East.

2 The Chaldean Church: Historical Context and Use of the Term

The term *Chaldean*, originally meaning the indigenous population of Mesopotamia, came to be applied by Europeans to East Syriac Christian communities in general, due to their historical presence in Mesopotamia. It is more correctly used to differentiate the East Syriac Uniate Church from the Church of the East (so-called Nestorian). In fact, the official name of this Church is the Chaldean Patriarchate of Babylon, with its main See presently based in Baghdad.

Until recently, scholars lacked access to most of the numerous manuscript collections of the Chaldean Church; as a result, research on manuscripts in these collections was mostly confined to descriptions in early-20th-century printed catalogues. Two fundamental works have recently changed the approach to studying East Syriac history and manuscript collections relevant to the Ottoman period. The first of these is a detailed study by David Wilmshurst on the ecclesiastical organization of the East Syriac Churches, spanning from the early 14th century until World War I.¹⁰ The author uses colophons, along with published and unpublished catalogues, to survey the historical developments during these six centuries, developments that dramatically impacted these Christian communities. In the process, Wilmshurst accumulated a huge amount of information about thousands of manuscripts from multiple collections.

The second publication of relevance is Heleen Murre-van den Berg's work on Syriac scribes and scriptures in the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire.¹¹ Unlike Wilmshurst, Murre-van den Berg focuses on textual transmission, genre

10 D. Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913* (CSCO 582, Subsidia 104; Lovanii: Peeters, 2000).

11 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*.

development, and the socio-historical role of scribes in literary life. Her monograph includes comprehensive accounts of the texts created in these literary circles, as they appear in the principal collections described by earlier catalogues.

It should also be kept in mind that each of the three East Syriac patriarchal lines that were in the state of union with Rome in different periods and had their own church libraries. At different periods, these three lines were either in contact with the Catholic Church or estranged from it. The peripeteias of their emergence and evolution are most thoroughly studied in the works of Murre-van den Berg.¹² Nor did the manuscript collections of the three lines arrive in an unchanged state. Rather, they have lived their lives through the centuries, shifting and intermingling, in the context of the history and relationships of the three lines.

It is important to realize, therefore, that despite the current use of the name “Chaldean” in relation to the present manuscript collections, they all include, to a greater or lesser degree, parts of the book culture of all three East Syriac patriarchal lines. As is well known, the line that emerged after the schism of 1552 and of which ‘Aḇdīšō‘ of Gazarta was patriarch, was the first Chaldean line to enter into union with Rome.¹³ Having completely disconnected itself from Rome around 1700, this line is now the only traditionalist line and has the historical name of the Church of the East. This is the patriarchal line (the second one, following Murre-van den Berg), whose residence was based first in Amid (Diyarbakir), then near the monastery of Ya‘qōḇ Ḥḇīshāyā (Jacob the Recluse) near Seert, and following this, in Qodshanis (in the Hakkari district).¹⁴

The main East Syriac patriarchal line (the first line, following Murre-van den Berg) is the one that had its residence at the Rabban Hōrmīzd monastery near Alqosh. This line, from which the aforementioned Uniate line separated, initially remained traditionalist, but then joined the Catholic line in 1830 and now is called the Chaldean line.¹⁵ It is this line that now owns the East Syriac manuscript collections digitized by HMML.

12 See Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*.

13 See J. Habbi, “Signification de l’union chaldéenne de Mar Sulaqa avec Rome en 1553,” *L’Orient syrien* XI (1966): 99–132, 199–230; L. Parker, “Yawsep I of Amida (d. 1707) and the Invention of the Chaldeans” (*Études syriaques* 17; Paris: Geuthner, 2020), 121–152; L. Parker, “On the Margins of Empire: Confessionalization and the East Syrian Schism of 1552,” in T. Krstić, & D. Terzioğlu (eds.), *Entangled Confessionalizations? Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th–18th Centuries* (429–450) (Gorgias Press, 2022), 429–450.

14 H. Murre-van den Berg, “The Patriarchs of the Church of the East from the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,” *Hugoye* 2.2 (1999): 250–257.

15 Murre-van den Berg, “The Patriarchs of the Church of the East,” 240–250.

A third Uniate line emerged in 1781 in Diyarbakir (Amid) and existed till 1830, when it merged with the Rabban Hōrmīzd line (which was already Catholic by that time); together these two lines form the present Chaldean Patriarchate of Babylon.¹⁶

These historical vicissitudes of the East Syriac Church could not but affect the formation and distribution of manuscripts in the different library collections. Large manuscript groups within such collections can be traced to one or other of the three patriarchal lines, especially thanks to their digitization. The transmission and circulation of texts within the collections, as well as within each of these Church lines, represents an important scholarly challenge. The analysis and classification of discrepancies that occur in the same texts in different patriarchal lines is a matter for future research.

3 Chaldean Church Manuscript Collections: Physical and Digital

Thanks to work of the HMML over the last fourteen years, the scholarly community has obtained access to more than two thousand manuscripts belonging to this East Syriac tradition.¹⁷ In particular, the current work has made use of the following Chaldean Church manuscript collections that are available online for the purpose of research:¹⁸

- ACA (Chaldean Archdiocese of Aqra): 5 MSS
- ACE (Chaldean Archdiocese of Erbil): 188 MSS
- ACK (Chaldean Archdiocese of Karkuk): 222 MSS
- APSTCH THRI (Chaldean Syrian Church of Trichur): 120 MSS
- CAM (Chaldean Archdiocese of Mosul): 91 MSS
- CAM MIC (Chaldean Archdiocese of Mosul, Mar Ishaya Church): 17 MSS
- CCB (Chaldean Church of Bāṭnāyā): 63 MSS
- CCM (Chaldean Cathedral of Mardin): 589 MSS
- CHAL (Mar Petyun Keldani Kilisesi in Diyarbakir): 31
- CPB (Chaldean Patriarchate of Babylon (Baghdad)): 803
- DCA (Chaldean Diocese of Alqosh): 156 MSS
- DCD (Chaldean Diocese of Duhok): 51 MSS
- MACCK (Mar Addai Chaldean Church of Karmlish): 90 MSS
- QACCT (Chaldean Church of Quriaqos, Telkepe): 227 MSS

16 Murre-van den Berg, "The Patriarchs of the Church of the East," 237, 257–260.

17 See C. Stewart, "An Update on the Digitization and Cataloging Work of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML)," *XB* 8 [XIV] (2017): 153–171.

18 Available at vHMML: <https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/>.

Undoubtedly, for several reasons the picture cannot be considered exhaustive. First, many collections were destroyed long before the digital era, most notably the important one of the Seert Chaldean Cathedral library.¹⁹ This collection contained manuscripts from at least two different East Syriac patriarchal lines, most of which were created within the line that resided in the monastery of Mār Yaʿqōḇ Ḥḇīšāyā during its early Uniate period. Since ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta belonged to this line, and moved his residence to this monastery, the library contained manuscripts of his works, and even his autographs, that are now lost. The only information on the texts contained in its manuscripts is what can be obtained from the catalogue of Addai Scher, who was himself murdered during the devastation and massacre of 1915, when the collection was destroyed.²⁰

Other collections were destroyed in the second half of the 20th century, such as one in ‘Amadiya (Dahuk district), which was destroyed during the suppression of the Kurdish revolt by Iraqi troops in 1961.²¹

Secondly, not all the collections were digitized. An example of this is the famous library of the Chaldean monastery of *Notre Dame de Semences* (Our Lady of the Seeds) near Alqosh,²² which was not digitized for various technical reasons. Nevertheless, the available material is sufficient to work out the typology of the relevant texts and to generally reconstruct their development.

Some unique manuscripts that contain otherwise unknown texts belong to the library of the Chaldean Cathedral in Mardin (referred to below as *CCM*), first catalogued by Addai Scher in the early 20th century,²³ and now available online at the vHMML site.²⁴ This collection has undergone many changes since first being catalogued.²⁵ As Grigory Kessel has noted, the Diyarbakir

19 See A. Scher, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et arabes, conservés dans la Bibliothèque épiscopale de Séert (Kurdistan) avec notes bibliographiques* (Mosul: Printer of Dominican Fathers, 1905).

20 See Scher, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et arabes*.

21 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 12.

22 See J.-M. Vosté, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne du couvent de Notre-Dame des Semences près d'Alqoš (Iraq)* (Rome; Paris: Bureaux de L'Angelicum and Libr. Orientaliste P. Geuthner, 1929).

23 A. Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés dans la bibliothèque de l'évêché chaldéen de Mardin," *Revue des bibliothèques* 18 (1908): 64–95.

24 Stewart, "An Update on the Digitization and Cataloging Work."

25 G. Kessel, "Manuscript Collection of the Syrian Orthodox Church Meryemana. Diyarbakir: A Preliminary Survey," in *Manuscripta Syriaca. Des sources de première main*, ed. by F. Briquel-Chatonnet, M. Debié (Cahiers d'études syriaques 4; Paris: Geuthner, 2015), 84; A. Pritula, "One More Unknown Khāmīs' Ode in Honor of Bar 'Ebrōyō," *XB* 8 [XIV] (2017): 187. On the correspondence of the old manuscript shelf-numbers to the new digital HMML source numbers, see G. Kessel, "A Concordance to Addai Scher's Catalogues of Chaldean

Chaldean Church collection was transferred during World War I to a private house that then collapsed under the weight of the books. The latter were retrieved from the ruins months (or even years) later. Eventually, most of them were brought to the episcopal residence in Mardin.²⁶ Thus, the Mardin and Diyarbakir Chaldean collections are now combined, forming the most representative of the extant manuscript collections of the Chaldean Church, although those of the Chaldean Patriarchate of Babylon (Baghdad) and the Chaldean Syrian Church of Trichur comprise more manuscripts.

Collections of Manuscripts in Diyarbakır and Mardin and the Holdings of the Joint Collection in Mardin Digitized by HMML in Collaboration with CNMO," *Hugoye* 26 (2023): 97–142.

26 See Kessel, "Manuscript Collection of the Syrian Orthodox Church Meryemana," 84.

‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta: Founder of the Chaldean Church Literary Tradition

1 Biography

Undoubtedly, the literary tradition of the Chaldean Church starts with the name of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta, the Church’s second patriarch (1555–1570),¹ as well as its first author of numerous liturgical and non-liturgical poems, including descriptions of travels to Rome in a lengthy versified text.² Many of these texts are epigrams addressed to the author’s contemporaries (see below, Chapter 3, Sections 1, and 2).

Although the exact date of ‘Abdīšō’s birth is unknown, it should be assumed that he was born in the early 16th century (see the argument below). During his childhood and youth, all of Mesopotamia, as well as the eastern part of Asia Minor, was under the control of the Shī‘ī Iranian Safavid dynasty (1501–1722).³ As a result of campaigns conducted in the early 16th century by Suleiman the Magnificent (1494–1566), the Ottoman Empire managed to conquer all of Mesopotamia, starting with Baghdad.⁴ The result was a peace treaty in 1555 in which the Safavids gave up many regions, including Iraq. The subsequent flourishing of Syriac literature and manuscript production seems to be related to the political and economic stability of the territory under Ottoman rule. As Murre-van den Berg has shown, the production of East Syriac manuscripts began to increase significantly from the 1550s onwards.⁵

1 The dating of his death is disputed; it will be discussed below. We follow the date established by David Wilmshurst (Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 94) and Heleen Murre-van den Berg (Murre-van den Berg, “The Patriarchs of the Church of the East,” 250–251; Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 250–251), which is 1570 AD.

2 For instance, see J.-M. Vosté, “Mar Iohannan Soulaqa, premier Patriarche des Chaldéens, martyr de l’union avec Rome († 1555),” *Angelicum* 8 (1931): 187–234.

3 On the life of the Christian communities in Iraq in the 15th century, see Carlson, T.A., *Christianity in Fifteenth-Century Iraq* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

4 H.R. Roemer, “The Safavid Period,” in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 216, 242–244.

5 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 81–82.

Based on the extant information, ‘Abdīšō’ was born in Gazarta and had close contacts with this city for all of his life, despite his multiple changes of residence.

A very important document was recently discovered and published by Margherita Farina (see Table 1, No. 7).⁶ The text represents the draft of a letter by ‘Abdīšō’, already the patriarch of the East Syriac Catholic Church, which he sent to Pope Pius IV in 1562.⁷ It contains the famous list of the dioceses of the East Syriac Church over which he claimed authority.⁸ This leaflet attached to manuscript Or. 196, now in Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana of Florence, was most likely written by the patriarch himself and thus his autograph, unlike the final official version of this document in Vat. Sir. 99 written in West Syriac script. The Latin version of this document was rendered in the book by Giamil.⁹

In the introductory paragraph, ‘Abdīšō’ mentions that he originated from the city of Gazarta and started his ecclesiastical career as a monk in the monastery of Mār Aḥḥā and Mār Yōḥannān in its neighborhood.¹⁰

The beginning of the letter reads:

I am ‘Abdīšō’ bar Ḥannā from Bēt Marōn from the city of Gazarta that is on the shore of the river Tigris, formerly a monk from the order of our father Antonios from the monasteries of the two natural brothers Mār Aḥḥā and Mār Yōḥannān.¹¹

The beginning of the letter thus leaves no doubt as to the patriarch’s place of origin. He also notes that his father’s name was Ḥannā, although he is usually referred to as the son of Yōḥannān.¹² These are actually two different names

6 M. Farina, “A New Autograph by ‘Abdīšō’ Marūn,” *J ECS* 70.3–4 (2018): 241–256.

7 The final version of this text is known in the Latin translation published by S. Giamil in 1902 (see S. Giamil, *Genuinae relationes inter sedem Apostolicam et Assyriorum Orientalium seu Chaldaeorum ecclesiam nunc major ex parte primum editae historicisque adnotationibus illustratae* (Rome: E. Loescher, 1902), 61–66).

8 The document refers directly to the Trent Council, which ‘Abdīšō’ was not able to attend; thus, the epistle has a precise dating (see Farina, “A New Autograph by ‘Abdīšō’ Marūn,” 247, 249). For the numerous confessions of faith made by him and his predecessor Yōḥannān Sullāqā in Rome, see H.G.B. Teule, “Les professions de foi de Jean Sullāqā, premier patriarche chaldéen, et de son successeur ‘Abdisho’ d-Gāzartā,” in *L’union à l’épreuve du formulaire. Professions de foi entre églises d’orient et d’occident (xiii^e–xviii^e siècle)*, ed. M.-H. Blanchet, F. Gabriel (Leuven; Paris; Bristol: Peeters, 2016), 259–269.

9 Giamil, *Genuinae relationes inter sedem Apostolicam et Assyriorum Orientalium*.

10 Teule, “Les professions de foi de Jean Sullāqā, premier patriarche chaldéen,” 245–247.

11 Farina, “A New Autograph by ‘Abdīšō’ Marūn,” 245–247.

12 For instance, see Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East*,

formed from the same root. Bēt Marōn, the familial lineage from which he was descended, is also named.

The extant manuscript colophons and notes confirm that the Gazarta origin of the author was generally well-known. Some information about such contacts occurs also in SOAH 56, the earliest extant manuscript written by ‘Aḇdišō’, dated 1547 (see Table 1, No. 1 and Chapter 2, Section 3). In the colophon, the copyist refers to himself as “‘Aḇdišō’ of Gazarta,” which clearly indicates his place of origin.

In other manuscripts, the city is referred to even after ‘Abdīšō’s patriarchal title, such as: “‘Abdīšō, the Catholicos, of Gazarta” or “‘Abdīšō of Gazarta, the Catholicos” (see, for instance, SMMJ 159, fol. 81^v; Ms. Orient. Fol. 619, fol. 195^r). Additionally, in some cases the author is referred to as “‘Abdīšō *from* Gazarta” (ܐܒܕܝܫܐ ܡܢ ܓܙܪܬܐ) instead of “‘Abdīšō *of* Gazarta” (ܐܒܕܝܫܐ ܕܓܙܪܬܐ) (see, for instance, CPB 79, fol. 12^r).

In all likelihood, even before his ordination as a bishop, ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta was a renowned man of letters in his native city. Thus, ‘Aṭṭāyē (‘Aṭṭāyā),¹³ son of Faraj, one of the most famous and productive East Syriac scribes, who worked mainly in Gazarta (see below, Chapter 2, Section 4) and was also a poet, refers to ‘Abdīšō‘ as his teacher, as is clear from the rubrics in the manuscript APSTCH THRI 57 (Chaldean Syrian Church of Trichur):¹⁴

عليه سقن خا اذيم اذلا. هاجا لقم: تيقب صبل اهل ذ صبح فقا.
الصبح ذلوم. مذ صبحم اذلا لقم اذلا.

The canons with two stanzas and the three hymns have been finished by the weak 'Aṭṭāyē, son of the priest Faraj, a disciple of our father Mār 'Abdišo' the bishop, in the year 1862 of the Greeks,¹⁵ [during] the Lord's fast (APSTCH THRI 57, fol. 118^r).

The manuscript, datable to the 18th or 19th century, contains—among other texts—poems by both ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta and ‘Attāyē. Despite its obviously

1318–1913, 803; *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, eds. S.P. Brock, A.M. Butts, G. Kiraz, L. van Rompay (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 4.

13 This name is often transcribed as ‘Aṭṭāyā, but as can be seen from the many instances that have vocalization, there is a long *-e* at the end. In particular, this is how the name is vocalized in manuscripts written by himself (see A. Pritula, “East Syriac Poetry Embedded in the Manuscript Illumination: 16th Century,” *Manuscripta Orientalia* 26.1 (2020): 29), as well as in a poetic prayer rhymed to his name (see below, Text IV.III, poem 2).

14 Available at vHMMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/138278>.

15 = 1551AD.

late origin, it nevertheless retained the original paragraph by ‘Aṭṭāyē, which concludes his own verses in the manuscript. Written in the 1st person with self-deprecating epithets (as authors and scribes typically referred to themselves), it obviously goes back to ‘Aṭṭāyē’s autograph.

As follows from this passage, ‘Aṭṭāyē was ‘Abdīšō’s disciple, have been trained by him as a poet and a scribe. Perhaps this took place in Gazarta, where they both lived. Since the poems are dated to 1862 AG (1551AD), and the author refers to ‘Abdīšō’ as his teacher in connection to them, their relationship obviously preceded the schism of 1552, when the new Chaldean Church appeared. Apparently, they maintained their relationship after the schism took place (see below, Chapter 2 Section 4).

It is very likely that ‘Aṭṭāyē eventually converted to the new East Syriac Uniate church. So-called “canons for the ordination of priests and deacons” composed by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta occur in the same manuscript (APSTCH THRI 57, fol. 114^r–117^v). They are discussed and published below (See Chapter 4 Section 3.2; IV.III). One such piece is composed for the name of ‘Aṭṭāyē, whom the author apparently ordained as a priest (APSTCH THRI 57, fol. 115^v; see Text IV.III, poem 2).

It is believed that ‘Abdīšō’ was ordained as the metropolitan—or, to be more certain, as the bishop—of Gazarta by the first Chaldean Patriarch, Yōhannān Sullāqā, in 1553 or in early 1554 (according to Murre-van den Berg),¹⁶ or, more precisely, in 1554 (according to Wilmshurst).¹⁷ In fact, according to the colophon of the manuscript DCA 65, written by ‘Abdīšō’ himself, he was bishop of Gazarta as early as 18 August 1553 (see below, Chapter 2, Section 3, Fig. 3). Thus, his consecration must have taken place between the schism of 1552 and this date.

Although he bore such a title, he was not based in Gazarta, but rather in Amid (Diyarbakir), as indicated by the colophons of two manuscripts he wrote in that period—CHAL 1 (Mar Petyun Keldani Kilisesi in Diyarbakir)¹⁸ and SMMJ 116, now in St. Mark’s Monastery, Jerusalem (see below Chapter 2, Section 2, Figs. 1, 2, 8),¹⁹ both produced in 1554. The town of Gazarta reportedly remained long under the traditionalist patriarchate (Bar Māmā) of the Rabban

16 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 51.

17 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 102, 349.

18 A. Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés à l’archevêché chaldéen de Diarbékirkir,” *Journal asiatique* x, 10 (1907): 413–414. See also Kessel, “A Concordance to Addai Scher’s Catalogues,” 108.

19 F.Yu. Dolabani, G.Yo. Ibrahim, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in St. Mark’s Monastery (Dairo Dmor Marqos)* (Damascus: Sidawi Printing House, 1994), 339–344.

Hōrmīzd line.²⁰ It seems very likely though that the appointment of ‘Abdīšō’ to that diocese was more connected with his origin than with any ecclesiastical circumstances.

After the death of Sullāqā in 1555, ‘Abdīšō’ was elected the second Patriarch by the five Chaldean bishops, but left for Rome to obtain confirmation of his title only in 1562, eventually received this from Pope Pius IV. ‘Abdīšō’ was not present at the famous Council of Trent of 1562, since he had not reached Rome by that time, but his letters were read and discussed there,²¹ and his credentials to the Council were published in the same year.²²

Most likely during his stay in Rome, a portrait was painted of ‘Abdīšō’, a xylography of which has become the most famous depiction of him.²³ This portrait, judging from its similarity of image and angle, appears to have been used in the fresco *Peace of Venice 1177*, painted by Giuseppe Porta around 1565.²⁴ Although ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta appears much older in the fresco, it may have been executed in a manner consistent with the painter’s intent. Assuming that the xylography reflects the features of a portrait painted from life, we can use it to approximate the age and time of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta’s birth. Given that, in the time under consideration, people generally looked much older than now, one may assume that the sitter at the time of the 1562 portrait was 45–55 years old. ‘Abdīšō’’s time of birth must then have been the first or the early second decade of the 16th century. Unfortunately, more precise calculations seem impossible at this point in time.

After returning to the Near East, ‘Abdīšō’ moved his residence to the monastery of Saint Jacob the Recluse near Seert, where he spent the rest of his life. This monastery remained the main center of the first Chaldean Patriarchate for a long time.²⁵

‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta was instrumental in the establishment and expansion of the Chaldean Church, including dioceses in India.²⁶ He used to travel fre-

20 Wilmschurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 102–103.

21 C. Baskins, “Popes, patriarchs, and print: representing Chaldeans in Renaissance Rome,” *Renaissance Studies* 28.3 (2013): 405–425.

22 Abdisu, R.D. *patriarchae orientalium Assyriorum De sacro oecumenico Tridentini Concilio approbatio, & professio, et literae illustrissimi domini Marciantonij cardinalis Amulij ad legatos sacri Concilij Tridentini* (Riva del Garda: Jacob Marcaria, 1562).

23 Available online at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdisho_IV_Maron#/media/File:Abdisho-IV-Maron.jpg; see also a drawing on the frontispiece of the current book.

24 C. Baskins, “Locating the Chaldean Embassy to Pope Paul V in the Sala Regia of the Palazzo Quirinale in Rome,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 59/60 (2014/2015): 317.

25 Wilmschurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 94–97.

26 Wilmschurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 50.

[illegible]

107^v This book has reached completion on Sunday, the 11th of Iyār in the year
108^r one thousand eight hundred | [eighty] two; glory to God, and to us <...>
and His mercy, now and always, and forever and ever, amen!

...
In the days when the Father of the fathers and the Elder of the pastors Mār ‘Abdīšō‘, Catholicos Patriarch of the East, passed away from this world. May the Lord rest his soul, Amen (CCM 429, fol. 107^v–108^r)!

As is evident from the lines above, the scribe did not mention exactly how much time had passed between the patriarch's death and the time he finished copying the manuscript, but used rather the expression "these days." This expression does not mean an exact period, but rather indicates that the event was relatively recent. Given that the manuscript was written in the former residence of the late patriarch (see Chapter 2, Sections 1 and 2) and the scribe was apparently one of his disciples or at least one of his followers, it is very possible that 'Abdīšō's death had strongly shocked him, in which case the event may have happened several months before the colophon was written. This is quite consistent with the date mentioned above, 11 September 1570, which should be considered as more accurate.

2 Poetic Heritage: General Overview

2.1 *Trilogy on Yōḥannān Sullāqā*

When considering ‘Abdišoʿ of Gazarta’s poetic legacy, two significant points need to be stressed. Firstly, this writer was very prolific, a point which will be discussed in the analysis of his oeuvre below (see Section 2.2 below). Secondly (and surprisingly), his works are included in the corpus of ecclesiastical texts of all three East Syriac patriarchal lines. This is evidenced by the extant manuscripts of his works, to be examined in the corresponding sections of this book (for instance, see Chapter 3, Section 1.2, and Chapter 4, Section 2.4).

The first point can be explained by the fact that the author set himself the task of forming a corpus of literature for the new church, which required the creation of a large group of texts, both liturgical and non-liturgical. As with other educated East Syriac elite of the time, versification was the main form of literary activity.

Nevertheless, ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta’s writing career began long before he was the patriarch, when he was still a monk in the Monastery of Mār Yōhannān the

Egyptian, near Gazarta, and later, when he was a bishop. The reasons for which ‘Abdišo’ of Gazarta became an author recognized by all three patriarchal East Syriac lines will be discussed below.

One of the most detailed texts to discuss the early years of the Chaldean Church is the poetical trilogy that ‘Abdišo’ composed during various periods of his life. The hitherto unedited trilogy is contained in at least four manuscripts, three of which are in the Vatican Library (Vat. Sir. 45, Vat. Sir. 63 and Borg. Syr. 21), with the fourth in the Telkepe Chaldean Church collection (QACCT 119). It was translated into French by Vosté in 1931, but without a critical apparatus, textual commentaries, and the original Syriac text.³⁴ This text certainly deserves special work, including a detailed study, a critical edition, and a translation with an extensive commentary. Such a publication should undoubtedly constitute a separate book. Here we shall confine ourselves to a general overview of the content and poetic features of this trilogy, which is not only a valuable source on the origins of the Chaldean Church, but also contains very detailed information on the churches and monasteries of mid-16th century Italy.

The first and longest poem of the trilogy occupies almost thirty folios (see QACCT 119, fol. 16^r–34^v), and explains the reasons for the emergence of the new Church, namely protests against violations of church canons by the patriarch Šem’ōn VII bar Māmā, resulting in the election to the patriarchate of Yōḥannān Sullāqā, a monk from the Alqosh monastery, by several bishops that gathered in Mosul. The author of the poem lists numerous infringements of canon law committed by the patriarch of the traditional line (QACCT 119, fol. 17^v–19^r): intemperance and love of feasting; neglect and persecution of churches and monasteries; ordination of a twelve-year-old child as a metropolitan; consecration of a fifteen-year-old boy to the metropolitanate; permitting unlawful marriages (e.g., blessing a man to have three wives); permitting a man to remarry; permitting a man to marry his paternal uncle’s wife; permitting a man to marry his maternal uncle’s wife; permitting a man to marry his godmother.

The poet then elaborately describes Yōḥannān’s travels to Rome, where the Pope ordains him as patriarch. The poem recounts his journey through all of the Ottoman Near East, including a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (with helpful topographic data on the holy places). From there he goes to Rome, stopping repeatedly on various islands in the Mediterranean. The depicted tour also mentions an array of churches and monasteries that he visits. In the end, ‘Abdišo’ narrates the ceremony ordaining Yōḥannān as the Patriarch of the Church of the East. The overall poem chronicles a year-long journey, replete

34 Vosté, “Mar Iohannan Soulaqa,” 187–234.

with precise details about time, beginning in November 1552 and lasting until November of the next year.

The second poem, much shorter than the first one, narrates Yōhannān’s return to the Near East and his eventual tragic fate (see QACCT 119, fol. 34^v–41^r), which transpired when Šem’ōn VII bar Māmā, the patriarch of the traditional line, started plotting against the new Church and convinced the governor of the city of ‘Amadiya to imprison Sullāqā. The Chaldean patriarch spent four months in prison before Ottoman authorities killed him, hid his body in order to prevent his supporters from rebelling, and claimed he had escaped. A similar account appears in a short prose biography of Yōhannān written by Eliyā Asmar, metropolitan of Amid (Diyarbakir), one of the prelates who had been ordained by the murdered patriarch.³⁵

The third (and shortest) poem in the trilogy is called a *maḍrāšā* (see QACCT 119, fol. 41^r–42^r), a genre that has a strophic form and a rather complex rhythmic structure. *Maḍrāšē* belong to liturgical texts and are usually performed to commemorate the dead. This particular version mourns the tragic death of the Patriarch, who is compared to early Christian martyrs.

Several 20th-century scholars have discussed the role of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta in creating these poems. Anton Baumstark, who wrote an article on the Syriac descriptions of Rome, assumed that the text’s numerous geographical details derived from the Patriarch’s companion on his trip to Rome.³⁶ Vosté’s introduction to the French translation expressed doubt about this assumption, arguing that the lists of people accompanying Yōhannān Sullāqā did not mention ‘Abdīšō‘.³⁷ One might therefore conclude that ‘Abdīšō‘ based his descriptions on geographical texts that he had at his disposal. As mentioned earlier, this long, informative trilogy still requires an exhaustive study of its sources, such as contemporary geographic texts, chronicles and archive materials.

As is often the case with Syriac poetic texts, it is not entirely clear whether this trilogy was really intended for liturgical use or whether the poems in this trilogy simply use the names of the respective classical Syriac poetic forms.³⁸ What is certain, however, is that the author’s main task was to create a poetic narrative about the martyrdom of the founder of the new Church, that is, to create a new hagiographical tradition.³⁹

35 Vosté, “Mar Iohannan Soulaqa,” 232–234.

36 Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 333.

37 Vosté, “Mar Iohannan Soulaqa,” 195–196.

38 For similar examples of very long poems entitled in liturgical terms, see below, 4.2.

39 See Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 162–163, 205.

2.2 Other Poems by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta

In addition to the foundational trilogy discussed above, ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta contributed many works to the existing East Syriac poetic forms of his time.

Most of the verse pieces ascribed to this outstanding author occur in the manuscript CCM 398 (Chaldean Cathedral of Mardin), written in the Monastery of Mār Yōhannān the Egyptian, near Gazarta, in 1583 (see below, Chapter, Section 2.1; Figs. 9, 10).⁴⁰ Although very few of these poems have been studied and published, they have been listed and mentioned in recent publications.⁴¹ We have devoted Ch. 3 of this volume to these works.

Notwithstanding the large number of extant manuscripts of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta’s works, the exact number of his poems is very difficult to ascertain. This is especially true of lesser poetic forms, such as quatrains. The fact is that they are usually included in anthologies where the texts are preceded by a rubric mentioning the author’s name. In others, the author’s name is absent. Therefore, it is not always clear whether such poems should be considered as the works of this author by default or as anonymous works. This situation is very typical for short poem anthologies in the medieval Middle Eastern manuscript tradition.

In the calculations made here, therefore, we take both possibilities into account, specifically indicating the number of anonymous poems when they are available. Obviously, many of the works of this author, as well as those by his other contemporaries, have not survived, since many manuscripts have been destroyed. Therefore, our findings below do not claim to be complete, but rather to give an approximate idea of the volume and variety of ‘Abdīšō’’s work. These works are included in the special list in Appendix 1 (for the liturgical poetic forms, see Ch. 4). Here we include only general counts of each literary form:

- *Mēmre*, meaning any kind of comparatively long non-strophic poems: 11 (4 of which are anonymous)
- *Various strophic poems*, namely strophic pieces whose formal identification is not clearly designated: 13 (5 of which are anonymous)
- *Ōnyātā*: 6
- *Maḍrāšē*: 3
- *Turgāmē*: 2

40 Formerly, *Diyarbakir* 95; see Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Diarbékir,” 331–362. Available at vHMML with a detailed description; <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132517>. See also A. Pritula, “East Syriac Literary Life in the mid-16th Century: ‘Abdīšō’ of Gāzartā and Older Contemporary Poets,” *Вестник СПбГУ. Востоковедение и африканистика* 11.1 (2019): 90, 94, 98, 100, 104–105.

41 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 322–326.

- *Huttāmē*: 4
- *Poetic colophons*: 2
- *Stanzas for the rite of the months*: 10
- *Verse canons for the ordination of priests and deacons*: 10
- *Quatrains* and various short poems, including *riddles*: ca. 190 (ca. 120 of which are anonymous)
- *Prose texts* ascribed to ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta: 2.

At first glance, these numbers seem quite high. However, let us compare them with the work of another prominent East Syriac poet, Khāmīs bar Qardāḥē, who lived at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries. He is known primarily for small and medium size poems. However, he had a strong influence on the work of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta, who used the same poetic forms. According to calculations by Alessandro Mengozzi,⁴² the poems in the *Book of Khāmīs* comprise the following:

- *Mēmre*: 7
- ‘*Ōnyātā*’: up to 28
- *Turgāmē*: 22
- *Sōghyāthā*: 33 (26 + 7 incorporated in quatrain sections)
- *Quatrains*: 454

As can be inferred from a comparison of these figures, the number of works of similar forms attributed to Khāmīs is much greater than that of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta. Especially revealing is the number of quatrains composed by both authors, where the difference is more than twofold. Thus, ‘Abdīšō‘ can be considered a rather prolific poet for a Church prelate, but he was less productive, for example, than his predecessor, who functioned more as a professional poet.

A significant difference between the poetic legacies of these two poets also lies in the fact that Khāmīs’ poems are brought together in one book structured in sections, whereas ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta’s works are scattered in various manuscripts and do not form a unified corpus. The reasons for this fundamental difference still require more research.

A separate scholarly problem is the attribution of poems preserved in the poet’s autographs. There are several such manuscripts written by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta, to which two sections of this book are devoted (see below, Chs. 2 and 4). Dozens of poems—52 in total (see Appendix 1)—of varying length and form

42 See Mengozzi, A., “The Book of Khāmīs bar Qardāḥē: History of the Text, Genres, and Research Perspectives,” in *Syriac Encounters: Papers of the Sixth North American Syriac Symposium (Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, June 26–29, 2011)* (ECS 20; Leuven; Paris; Bristol: Peeters, 2015), 415–439.

occur in these manuscripts. With few exceptions, however, their rubrics do not specify the author.

As the approximate numerical data listed above suggests, short poems make up a fair share of 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta's works. This indicates both his personal literary tastes and the general trend in Syriac poetry in his time. As for the themes and motifs of poems by 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta, they are also diverse, but they can be broadly divided into liturgical and non-liturgical works. Liturgical pieces of various types associated with his name are discussed in Ch. 4 below. As will be demonstrated, they generally continue the East Syriac hymnographic tradition, but utilize more modern poetic forms.

An important and highly informative group of poetic texts, although a rather small one, are odes dedicated to various contemporaries of the author. They can be called a kind of communicative poetry, the main samples of which are studied and reproduced in Ch. 3 of this book.

Among the non-liturgical poetry attributed to 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta, many are didactic in character. This is, of course, generally characteristic of medieval literature, especially that which is ecclesiastical in nature. Instruction and education have always been among the primary duties of church prelates. One of the main aspects of instruction is, of course, the sphere of asceticism and spiritual perfection. Among his works, there are many pieces devoted to this, mostly short ones.

An example of this kind of work is the short poem published below (see Text 1.1), a non-strophic piece with a monorhyme of 15 poetic lines written in twelve-syllable meter. It presents a dialogue between a doctor and a monk. The latter gives a prescription for the cure of sin and vices in which the former was powerless. It is a list of necessary ascetic and spiritual practices allegorically represented in the form of a remedy (see Text 1.1, lines 6–16). Undoubtedly, this piece can also be attributed to a monastic milieu, since this is the circle to which the author belonged.

Poems with educational content are one of the subgroups of didactic poetry. These are, first of all, poems devoted to the study of grammar, especially of the Syriac language. Among them is a poetic homily on the homographs and the use of diacritical dots (see Appendix 1 2), as well as many short poems that form a small selection, which we will examine and reproduce in section Chapter 5, Section 3 below.

Poetic riddles, usually presented in the form of quatrains or other short poems, can probably be included in the same group. Apparently, they were quite popular in the period under consideration, since dozens of such works attributed to 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta have survived (see Appendix 1, 11). Evidently these short poems have the purpose of educating and developing erudition,

both in the Syriac language and in Christian doctrine. Some of them seem to be encrypted, connected with numerical values of letters (for example, see below, Chapter 4, Section 3.2; v.II, poem 12). Perhaps, in a number of cases, even arithmetic operations with these numbers are in mind. In any case, this group is very specific and requires more research to be undertaken in the future.

See below for three samples of such works (see Text 1.11). As far as can be seen, numerical encryptions are not implied in them. The clue is derived from the content of the text. The first one is dedicated to the Ark (الطوفان) (see Text 1.11, poem 1), the second to the saddle (الفرجة) (see Text 1.11, poem 2), and the third to the prophet Jonah (يونس) (see Text 1.11, poem 3). The riddle about the saddle contains six poetic lines, the other two, like the vast majority of such pieces, are quatrains. All three are monorhyme pieces.

The riddles about the Ark and Jonah are built on the symbolism of Old Testament images as allegories of New Testament concepts. However, the riddle of the saddle, which outwardly has nothing to do with the spiritual sphere, is presented as a reminder of the relationship between earthly life and the after-life. Thus, all three riddles published below have to do with the spiritual realm.

Curiously, in CCM 398, the earliest manuscript containing them (see below, Chapter 3, Section 2.1), after each such riddle there is a clue, which is written after each poem in the Arabic alphabet in the reverse order of letters, i.e. from left to right. We reproduce it in this publication (see I.II, poems 1–3).

Text and Translation 1.1. Poem on a Monk and a Physician

Manuscripts used:

- A: CCM 398, 1583AD, fol. 254^r (base manuscript)
- B: CCM 22, 1681, fol. 164^v
- C: CCM 498, 18th century, fol. 65^v–66^r

43. : دیکھ :

1
 2
 3
 4
 5

43 B: ١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩١٠١١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩١٠١١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩١٠

مَمْتَنَةٌ بِمَجْتَبٍ لَقَدْ جَعَلَهُ دَكَّةً C:

44 C: စေသံ

عَجِبْتُ تَعْلَمُ سَيِّدُيْهِ دَعَاكَ هَكَذَا جِئْتُكَ
 قَبْلَ لَدُنْكَ هَذِهِ لَيْسَ عَجَبٌ حَسْبُكَ دَعَاكَ
 هَبْ لِي أَتْلِيكَ بِمِثْلِ 45 يَحْتَقِدُ دَعَاكَ مَنْ تَدْعُوهُ
 هَكَذَا عَظَمَ هَكَذَا دَعَاكَ دَعَاكَ مِثْلَهُ 10
 هَكَذَا لَيْسَ بِمِثْلِهِ تَدْعُوهُ دَعَاكَ دَعَاكَ
 هَكَذَا لَيْسَ بِمِثْلِهِ دَعَاكَ دَعَاكَ دَعَاكَ
 هَكَذَا لَيْسَ بِمِثْلِهِ دَعَاكَ دَعَاكَ دَعَاكَ
 هَكَذَا لَيْسَ بِمِثْلِهِ دَعَاكَ دَعَاكَ دَعَاكَ
 هَكَذَا لَيْسَ بِمِثْلِهِ دَعَاكَ دَعَاكَ دَعَاكَ 15
 دَعَاكَ بِمِثْلِ 46 هَكَذَا دَعَاكَ دَعَاكَ

Also by him

- 1 A certain monk, travelling one day,
 saw a physician in a certain town, around whom were gathered
 a great number of people suffering from serious ailments
 and passionately urging the physician to heal them.
- 5 That monk said to him, as if with a chuckle:
 “What is the cure for sins and transgressions?”
 He was silent for an hour, then raised his head and for wisdom
 turned to [that] reverend one. And he⁴⁷ said to him, “Listen with a keen
 mind!
 Take together with the roots of fasting continually,
 10 the leaves of prayers and the fruit of charity to the poor!
 Then grind it in the mortar of longsuffering,
 and to this add the pure sweat of love for your brothers!
 And kindle this on the fire of faith until it gets cooked.
 Level it in the vessel of grace and mercy,
 15 and rinse this continually! So that it would be able and sufficient
 to heal and cure you of every sin and transgression!”

Text and Translation 1.11. Poetic Riddles

[1]

Manuscripts used:

- A: CCM 00398, 1583AD, fol. 198^v (base manuscript)
- B: ACE 00141, 1801AD, 120^v

45 C: هَبْ

46 C: هَبْ

47 I.e. the monk.

48. تَذْهَبُ فِي حُلَّةٍ مَلَقَتْهُ ١٥٢٢ هـ. حُلَّةٌ
 مُجَلَّسَةٌ فِي حُلَّةٍ مَلَقَتْهُ ١٥٢٢ هـ. حُلَّةٌ
 مَلَقَتْهُ ١٥٢٢ هـ. حُلَّةٌ مَلَقَتْهُ ١٥٢٢ هـ.
 49. اَثْبِقْ

What is this palace that symbolizes the Church and its children?
And inside it, all the creation was carried.
And for the whole world, it discovered the way of repetition.
And its Lord⁵⁰ drew the symbol of the Lord silently, without speech.

KRA⁵¹

[2]

Manuscripts used:

– CCM 00398, 1583AD, fol. 199^r

[illegible]

What is this noun associated with a horse, o son of wisdom?
It has only four letters and has this feature:
When it is mounted, it gains movement and mobility.
And when it is not, it remains fallen and abandoned like a dead man.
And what's amazing is that both in the time of life and death,
it is surrounded by a great mystery beyond words.

ELDDAS⁵²

48 B: + ~~5~~

49 B: om.

50 I.e. the Lord of the Ark.

51 I.e. “Ark” written backwards.

52 I.e. "Saddle" written backwards.

[3]

Manuscripts used:

– CCM 00398, 1583AD, fol. 200^r

מִי־הַנֶּשֶׁה הַזֶּה וְהַזֶּה הַיָּחִיד מֵהַלֵּל:
הַזֶּה חַיִּים וְהַזֶּה מֵת וְהַזֶּה חַיִּים וְהַזֶּה מֵת.
וְהַזֶּה מֵת וְהַזֶּה חַיִּים וְהַזֶּה מֵת וְהַזֶּה חַיִּים.
וְהַזֶּה מֵת וְהַזֶּה חַיִּים וְהַזֶּה מֵת וְהַזֶּה חַיִּים.
נְוִי

Who is this and who is this man who has tasted three deaths?
Two are physical and one is the symbol that saves the creature.
And in his traits, other mysterious symbols
he has indeed drawn for us, according to the shining Word.⁵³
HANOJ⁵⁴

53 Allusion to Mt 12:38–42.
54 I.e. “Jonah” written backwards.

Manuscripts Written by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta and the Information They Contain

1 Overview of Manuscripts

‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta, as pointed out above, was also active as a scribe; several of the manuscripts he produced still survive, but have never been studied before.

No less important are scribal and reader’s notes, both in verse and prose, that also became popular in that period as well. These notes contain important information about the spiritual and cultural life of Christian communities at that time, and about the manuscript circulation they were involved in. The present chapter focuses on the manuscripts produced by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta at various points in his ecclesiastical career, in particular on the historical and autobiographical information that occurs in the scribal colophons and notes. This chapter also discusses the circumstances and purposes for copying each, placing them in the context of the dissemination of church writings in that period.

All autographs of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta about which we have been able to find any data are collected in Table 1 below. They are ten in total, of which six are still extant (No. 1, 3, 5–8),¹ at least one has been destroyed (No. 10), and the present location of another is unknown (No. 2).

TABLE 1 Manuscripts written by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta

MS no.	HMML source number/shelfmark	Present repository	Date of production	Place of production	Title of text(s)
1	SOAH 56 ²	Syriac Orthodox Archdiocese of Homs	1547, August	Monastery of Saint Jacob (Mār Ya‘qūb), Mardin	Explanation of the words by Eliyā of Nisibin
2	<i>Vorlage</i> of NDS (Vosté) 296 ³	Notre-Dame des Semences	1552	Gazarta	<i>Book of splendors</i> by Bar ‘Ebrōyō, with explanation of ambiguous words

1 To be precise, No. 7 in Table 1 is a letter by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta attached to a manuscript written by another person (see above, 1.1; Farina, “A New Autograph by ‘Abdīšō’ Marūn”).

2 Available at vHMML site: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/512407>.

3 Vosté, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne*, 109.

TABLE 1 Manuscripts written by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta (*cont.*)

MS no.	HMML source number/shelfmark	Present repository	Date of production	Place of production	Title of text(s)
3	DCA 65 ⁴	Chaldean Archdiocese of Alqosh	1553	Monastery of Saint Jacob (Mār Ya‘qūb), Mardin	<i>Metrical Grammar</i> by Bar ‘Ebrōyō
4	CHAL 1; formerly Diyarbakir (Scher) 130 ⁵	Mar Petyun Keldani Kilisesi, Diyarbakır	1554	Church of Mār Pētiōn, Amid (?)	Gospel of Matthew (Arabic translation by Ibn al-Ṭayyib)
5	SMMJ 116 ⁶	St. Mark Monastery, Jerusalem	1554	Episcopal cell, church of Mār Pētiōn, Amid	Rites of consecration and ordination
6	DFM 424 ⁷	Dominican Friars of Mosul	1560	Church of Mar Giwargis, Gazarta	Gospel lectionary in Arabic poetic translation, by ‘Abdīšō’ bar Brīkā
7	Or. 196 (a folio attached to another manuscript) ⁸	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence	1562(?)	Monastery of Ya‘qōb Ḥḡbīshāyā (Jacob the Recluse) near Seert (?)	Draft of a letter to Pius IV
8	SMMJ 159 ⁹	St. Mark Monastery, Jerusalem	1567	Monastery of Ya‘qōb Ḥḡbīshāyā	
9	Note in Vat. Sir. 184 ¹⁰	Vatican Library	1568, November	Monastery of Ya‘qōb Ḥḡbīshāyā	
10	Seert (Scher) 15 ¹¹	Destroyed; formerly in Chaldean Archdiocese of Seert	1569, October 20	Monastery of Ya‘qōb Ḥḡbīshāyā	New Testament (Syriac)

4 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/500565>.

5 Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Diarbékir,” 413–414. Scribal note on fol. 1^r also mentions that the manuscript was donated to the church of Mār Pētiōn by the priest ‘Abdallah. It has remained in this church and been identified by Grigory Kessel (see Kessel, “A Concordance to Addai Scher’s Catalogues,” 108). It is now available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/599806>.

6 Dolabani, Ibrahim, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts*, 256–265.

7 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/134598>.

8 See Farina, “A New Autograph by ‘Abdīšō’ Marūn,” 241–256.

9 See the description in Dolabani, Ibrahim, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts*, 339–344; Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/501291>.

10 See Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 412.

11 Scher, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques*, 10–12.

One could assume that the number of the manuscripts produced by this patriarch and literateur might have been much larger than those extant today. Their repertoire is very broad, some containing New Testament (No. 4, 6, 10) and liturgical texts (No. 5), while at least two of them contain works of Grīgōriūs bar ‘Ebrōyō (1226–1286) (No. 2, 3).

No less important is that the extant copies written by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta contain texts in both Syriac and Arabic (No. 1, 8), which reflects the bilingual character of the East Syriac Church at the time. Two manuscripts contain text in Arabic only, both of which are translations of the Gospel (No. 4, 6). There is also evidence that at least one manuscript (No. 5) was owned and used by the scribe and patriarch himself, as can be seen from numerous notes and additions made in his hand, which are the subject of discussion in the current chapter (see below, Section 2).

The second earliest manuscript known to have been copied by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta (No. 2), dated to 1552, is not available at present. The only evidence of it occurs in the colophon of a late copy made in Alqosh that used the patriarch’s autograph as a *Vorlage*. Even the present location of this copy itself is unknown, due recent events in Iraq. Wilmshurst mentions that the *Vorlage* of NDS 296 was written by ‘Abdīšō‘ while he was a monk in the monastery of Mār Aḥḥā near Gazarta, referring to the record in the catalogue by Vosté.¹² This biographic information fits very well with the details mentioned by ‘Abdīšō‘ in his letter.¹³

Unfortunately, since the library of the monastery of Notre-Dame des Semences in Alqosh has not been digitized, for the most part we can only judge its contents from Vosté’s catalogue.¹⁴ However, there is a chance that the *Vorlage* mentioned in that manuscript is in fact the present DCA 65 (No. 3). Firstly, it contains the same text; secondly, it is kept in another library in the same town (Alqosh); thirdly, the date that the *Vorlage* is reported to have been completed is very similar to the dating of DCA 65 (1552/1553).¹⁵

Two of the manuscripts (No. 4 and 5) were transcribed at Amid (Diyarbakir) in the church of Mār Pētiōn, where ‘Abdīšō’s episcopal residence was located,

12 Vosté, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne*, 109.

13 Vosté, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne*, 109; Pritula, “East Syriac Literary Life.” On the letter, see Farina, “A New Autograph by ‘Abdīšō‘ Marūn,” 245–247.

14 Vosté, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne*, 109.

15 Even the dimensions are similar, as follows from the descriptions (21 × 15/16 cm): (see Vosté, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne*, 109, note 1); for DCA 65: <https://w3id.org/vh-mml/readingRoom/view/500565>.

And I wrote in my own hand,¹⁸ the weak ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta, in the year 1865 of the Greek calendar.¹⁹

To Him who transcends the times—glory and honor and power forever and ever, Amen (CHAL 1, fol. 1^v)!

The last three extant manuscripts written by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta (apart from the draft attached to Or. 196)²⁰ were produced by him at the Monastery of Ya‘qōb Ḥḇīšāyā (Jacob the Recluse) near Seert, his new residence, while he was patriarch (No. 7, 8, 9). They are dated 1567, 1568 and 1569 respectively.

Seert 15 (No. 10), which is no longer extant, was probably destroyed with the rest of this collection in 1915; it contained a detailed scribal note by ‘Abdīšō‘ describing his method of using vocalization based on the copies available to him. It also mentions that it was written for Mār Ya‘qōb, the supervisor of the Ya‘qōb Ḥḇīšāyā monastery, the residence of ‘Abdīšō‘ himself.²¹ One more manuscript, SMMJ 159, was written by ‘Abdīšō‘ for the same person in 1567 (No. 8; Text II.11). In the current section, we discuss in detail only those manuscripts written by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta that contain poetic texts in his hand. That means in turn that they may represent his own poetry. The analysis of the other manuscripts copied by him is limited to a brief mention and an indication in Table 1.

One manuscript, DFM 424,²² was commissioned by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta in 1560 (No. 6) to the Church of the martyr Mār Gīwargīs in Gazarta, as follows from the note in his hand (fol. 179^v); the manuscript itself was obviously written by a different scribe. Its beautiful *naskhi* script differs slightly from ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta’s hand. It contains the text of the Arabic poetic translation of the Gospels by ‘Abdīšō‘ bar Briḵā.

The commissioner’s note, in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta, reads:

ܬܠܬܐ ܕܩܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

18 Lit. hands.

19 I.e. 1554 AD.

20 See Farina, “A New Autograph by ‘Abdīšō‘ Marūn,” 242–254.

21 Scher, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques*, 11–12.

22 Available at vHMML site: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/134598>.

the chapel of the Virgin Mary in Jerusalem that belonged to their Church. After the donation, most of these manuscripts entered the library of the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem. This manuscript is one of three that reside in the Saint Mark Monastery.²⁵

It has a detailed colophon stating that it was written by ‘Abdīšō’, bishop of Gazarta in Amid (Diyarbakir) (SMMJ 116, fol. 113^v–114^r, see Fig. 1). As pointed out by Heleen Murre-van den Berg, colophons of East Syriac manuscripts become an almost obligatory component in this period; they were constructed according to certain rules and usually bear significant information.²⁶ Here we quote only a relevant passage from this colophon, since its entire text takes several folios, as is usual for the tradition:

113^v يَجْتَنِبُ فِي الْمَجَالِمِ حَذَرًا لَمْ يَكُنْ يَكْفُرُ بِمَنْعِهِمْ عَنْ
الْمَجَالِمِ وَتَدْعِيهِمْ

[illegible]

113^v This book was started and finished in the year one thousand eight hun-
114^r dred sixty five of [the era of] Alexander, son of Philip ... | ... in the blessed
and blissful, strong and strengthened city of Amid, the city of the saints
(let God protect it forever and ever) in the episcopal cell of the church
dedicated to the glorious martyr lord Pētiōn (may his prayer for the believ-
ers be permanent) by the hand of the weak and unable—a worm, but not
a man, unclean in soul and body, committing sins in the morning and in
the evening,—‘Abdišō’, by the Grace surpassing his merits, Bishop and
Metropolitan of Gazarta of Bēt Zabday and its villages. Let everyone who
reads (this) pray for him out of the love of our Lord (SMMJ 116, 113^v–114^r).

The colophon provides the dating of this manuscript, which is 1865 AG that corresponds to 1554 CE, when ‘Abdīšō‘ was already bishop of Gazarta, but a year before his patriarchate. It is important that although his title connected him to this city, he was residing in Amid (Diyarbakir) until his patriarchal post

25 Dolabani, Ibrahim, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts*, 264–267, 339–344, 380–381.

26 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 113–143.

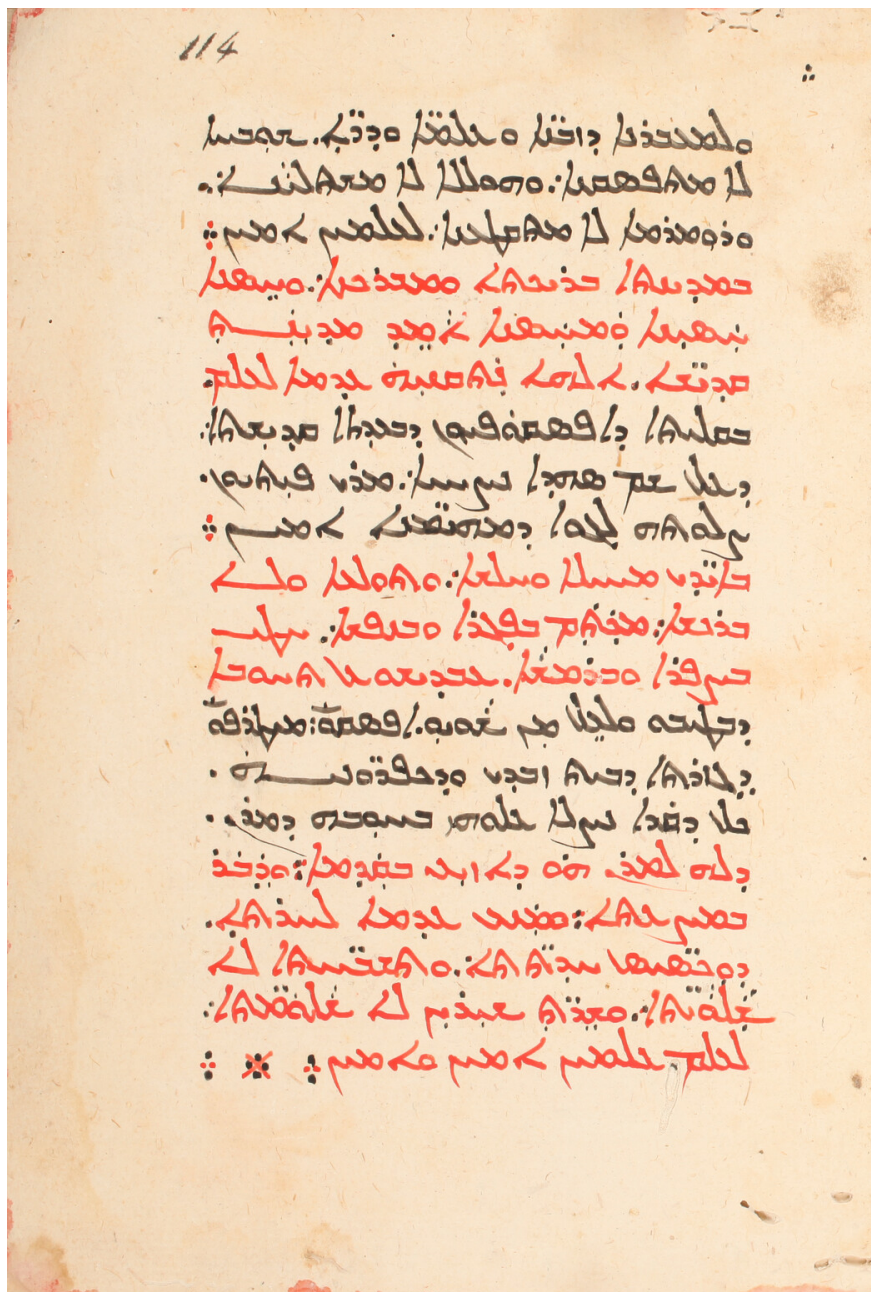


FIGURE 1 SMMJ 116; 1554, Rites of consecration and ordination; St. Mark Monastery, Jerusalem; fol. 114^r, prose colophon written in 'Abdišo' of Gazarta's hand

was confirmed in Rome, when he moved his main residence to the monastery of Jacob the Recluse, near Seert. At the time, Gazarta recognized the traditional line of the East Syriac Church (based in Rabban Hōrmīzd monastery near Alqosh) and did not support the Uniate Patriarchate. For this reason, ‘Abdīšō’s seat was apparently based in Amid (Diyarbakir), which was also the center of the entire Uniate Church in its first years and the residence of its first patriarch, Yōhannān Sullāqā.²⁷ This suggestion is confirmed by another of ‘Abdīšō’s manuscripts written in this city in 1554, according to Wilmshurst’s analysis of the existing manuscript collections.²⁸

This new colophon establishes that his “bishop’s cell” was located in the Church of Pētīōn, which may have played a significant role in the early period of the first Chaldean Church history. Several extant manuscripts were either commissioned by this church or donated to it. Additionally, it obtained a considerable donation of lands in a nearby village during the early 17th century.²⁹ In 1615, numerous priestly stoles and crowns were brought to this Church from Rome to be distributed between parishes. It is also important that deacon Gīwargīs, who initiated the donation of the lands to this church in 1603, also sponsored traditional gifts for the East Syriac Church in Jerusalem dedicated to Virgin Mary.³⁰ Such contacts might explain why this manuscript moved from Amid to Jerusalem. The activities of the East Syriac pilgrims in Jerusalem were studied in an article by Sebastian Brock.³¹

The same manuscript has a second colophon, written in verse by the same person (in the same hand), but already after he became a patriarch in 1555 (see Text II.I, Fig. 2). Unlike the first one, it is in verse and refers to ‘Abdīšō’ in the first person, but already mentions his new Church position (SMMJ II.6, fol. 114^v, stanzas 7, 8):

It was copied and written by the puny,
limp and sickly,
lowest of all people, foolish and fatuous,
weak and feeble ‘Abdīšō’,
who is Catholicos of the East
by the grace of the Lord Spirit.

27 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 55.

28 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 55.

29 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 55–56.

30 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 56.

31 S.P. Brock, “East Syriac pilgrims to Jerusalem in the early Ottoman period,” *Aram* 18–19 (2006–2007): 189–201.

May the reader pray for him with fervor,
so that our Lord Christ may rescue him.

He might have added the poetic colophon to register his new authority, which was, obviously, a most important task of a colophon at this time. Furthermore, the colophon offered a poetical exercise for this author, being an almost literal rendering of the previous prose colophon. It is worth mentioning that poetical colophons became an important part of the Syriac manuscript tradition during this period.

From this colophon, it becomes clear that ‘Abdīšō’ owned the manuscript for several years. Since the manuscript contains rites of consecration and ordination, one can suppose that the patriarch wrote it for his Church needs, as was common at the time, and used it at least while ordaining new priests and creating the new Church’s infrastructure. Vestiges of this long and intensive use appear as dozens of poems written in the same hand by the same person. They were never studied and still need a careful research (see Appendix 1). Some of these previously undiscovered poems can be considered a kind of poetic exercise, containing rhymes on certain names and historical epigrams for contemporary historical figures. Besides, there are numerous notes in ‘Abdīšō’'s hand, some of them are very informative (for instance, see below, Section 6).

The poetic colophon composed by the scribe and published by us here (see below, Text 11.1) continues the tradition that was most likely introduced by his namesake ‘Abdīšō’ bar Brīkā (died 1318), the famous metropolitan of Nisibis, the outstanding encyclopedist and a poet of the Syriac Renaissance. As shown by Grigory Kessel, the lectionary МАССК 1 in the library of the Mar Addai Chaldean Church of Karamlesh³² was written by this East Syriac theologian, poet, and a scribe of the Syriac Renaissance.³³ It contains a Poetic colophon that is very similar to the one composed and written by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta in SMMJ 116 (cf. Text 11.1, Fig. 2).³⁴ The great predecessor might have been

32 See the description in H. Jajika, “Manuscripts of the Karamlesh Church,” *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in Iraq* 1 (1977): 85–86. Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/510377>.

33 See the detailed discussion of this manuscript in an article by Grigory Kessel: G. Kessel, “Autographs of ‘Abdīšō’ bar Brīkā,” in *Christianity, Islam, and the Syriac Renaissance: The Impact of ‘Abdīshō’ bar Brīkhā. Papers Collected on His 700th Anniversary*, ed. by S. Rassi, Ž. Paša (Orientalia Christiana Analecta x; Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 2024), 51–104.

34 The complete text of this colophon in МАССК 1 composed by ‘Abdīšō’ bar Brīkā has been published in the article by Grigory Kessel (see Kessel, “Autographs of ‘Abdīšō’ bar Brīkā”). On SMMJ 116, see Pritula, “‘Abdīšō’ of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a

- [illegible]

- 1 This book of offices known as *Rites of ordination*
is finished and completed.
So, glory and doxology to God,
and also glorification and praise!
- 2 The completion of this office took place
on the tenth of the Last Teshri³⁸
of the year one thousand and 865
by Alexander the Greek.³⁹
- 3 Thus, it was written in
the famous, excellent cell, the source of envy,
the great Patriarchal one,
guarded by the Lord of the inhabited earth,

38 Teshri II = November.

39 I.e. 1554 CE.

- 4 under the protection of the great one at battles
and the supporter of the weak and feeble,
Mār Pētiōn, the healer of the destroyed ones,
the curer of illnesses and deceases,
- 5 in the famous city,
royal, ancient,
Amid, the fortified fortress,
known as the city of saints.
- 6 May our Lord Jesus guard it
from disturbances and any revolts.
May the sign of peace settle in it
that will not be shaken forever and ever!
- 7 It was copied and written by the puny,
limp and sickly,
lowest of all people, foolish and fatuous,
weak and feeble ‘Abdišō’,
- 8 who is Catholicos of the East
by the grace of the Lord Spirit.
May the reader pray for him with fervor,
so that our Lord Christ rescues him.
- 9 Honor and veneration to God,
also glory, and may He grant
reception of Grace at all hours
till the end of the days.
- 10 And so, let us all give endless praise
with untiring exaltations
to the Life of the worlds
now and also forever and ever!

3 Manuscript DCA 65 of the *Metrical Grammar*

One more manuscript (DCA 65) copied by ‘Abdišō’ of Gazarta is now kept in the collection of Chaldean Diocese of Alqosh (see Table 1, No. 3; Figs. 3–5), which is

certainly a different one than the famous library of the Catholic monastery of Virgin Mary (Notre Dame des Semences) located near this town.⁴⁰ The latter is still not available online, and the scholars have only old microfilms of selected manuscripts at their disposal.

This manuscript contains Bar ʿEbrōyō’s *Metrical Grammar*⁴¹ alongside other poems and treatises, and was copied by ʿAbdīšōʿ for himself. The colophons identify the circumstances of its writing (DCA 65, fol. 113^r–113^v; see Figs. 3, 4). For example, ʿAbdīšōʿ notes that he copied the text in 1553 in Mardin, while he was a bishop of Gazarta (fol. 113^r–113^v), not in Amid (Diyarbakir) as was the case when he was copying his other manuscripts before becoming a patriarch (see above, Table 1, No. 4, 5).

The colophon follows a complex structure, a sequence of certain sections or information blocks, common for East Syriac manuscripts of this period, recently analyzed by Heleen Murre-van den Berg.⁴² The first section normally mentions the exact date of finishing the work, which is exactly the case in this manuscript:

המחברת תזכיר תזכיר זה על חשבון המעורבות והתחלפות המעורבות.
המחברת תזכיר תזכיר זה על חשבון המעורבות והתחלפות המעורבות.

... on 18th day of the blessed month Āb, on Thursday, in the year 1864 of the Greek era, and following blessed Arabs, in the year nine hundred fifty nine ... (DCA 65, fol. 113r; see Fig. 3).

The latter corresponds to 18 August 1553AD. The further part of the colophon contains the information about the place of copying the manuscript:

40 See Vosté, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne*.

On this work by Bar ʿEbrōyō and the features of its copies, see M. Farina, “La Grammatica Metrica di Barhebraeus (xiii sec.) e le sue glosse. Siriaco, greco e arabo in contatto” in *Rappresentazioni linguistiche dell'identità*, ed. by M. Benedetti (Quaderni di AION, n.s. 3; Napoli: Università degli studi di Napoli, 2015), 107–125; M. Farina, “Barhebraeus’ Metrical Grammar and Ms. BML Or. 298: Codicological and Linguistic Remarks,” *Studi classici e orientali* 62 (2016): 345–360; M. Farina, “The Syro-Arabic Glosses to Barhebraeus’ Metrical Grammar,” in *Language and Identity in Multilingual Mediterranean Settings: Challenges for Historical Sociolinguistics*, ed. by P. Molinelli (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 310; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2017), 157–170; M. Farina, “La circulation de manuscrits syriaques en Orient et entre Orient et Occident entre la fin du xve et le xvi^e siècle” (Études syriaques 17; Paris: Geuthner, 2020), 93–121 (in particular: 107–109).

42 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 113–143.

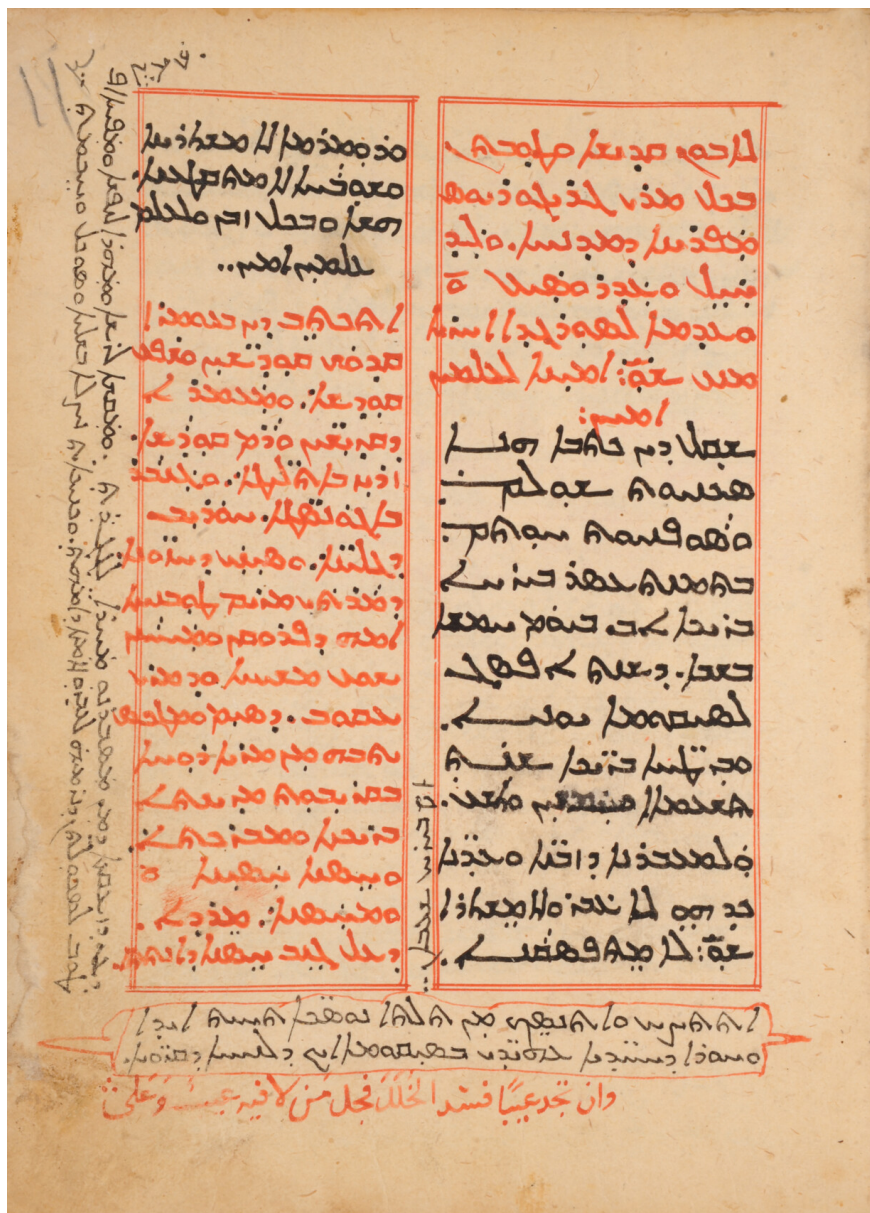


FIGURE 3 DCA 65; 1553, *Metrical Grammar* by Bar 'Ebrōyō; Chaldean Diocese of Alqosh; fol. 113^r, colophon written in 'Aḇdīšō' of Gazarta's hand

113^r ١١٣^r ١١٣^v ١١٣^v

113^r It was written in an utmost holy cloister, abundant in holiness, and an
 abode of the saints and high in holiness, strong with the combatants, and
 mighty with fighters, Horeb of revelations, and Sinai of visions, of blessed
 Mārt Maryam, mother of our Savior, and redeemer Jesus Christ, and of
 Mār Ya'qōb̄ that is settled and founded by the Lord Spirit near blessed and
 113^v blissful city of Mardin, close of the (village) *Fortress of the Lady*, | in the
 neighborhood of a series of the outstanding saints, and the glorious and
 glorified cloisters of Ḥannānyā, known as Dayr Za'farān and the cloister
 of the See, and of Mār Behnām designated as House of the Recluse, and of
 Mār 'Azazēl, and of Mārt Maryam, known as the Monastery "of the drop
 of water," and may their prayers, and of all the saints alike them, be a solid
 and invincible wall for all the universe, and most of all, in the land, where
 their resting-places are laid and settled, amen (DCA 65, fol. 113^r–113^v; see
 Figs. 3, 4).

Mardin is well-known for its dominant West Syriac (Syriac Orthodox) community and its monasteries and churches. The most important monastery was Mōr Ḥanōnyō (Mār Ḥannānyā), better known as Dayr al-Zaʿfarān mentioned in the colophon, where the residence of maphrians of the East (the Syriac Orthodox Metropolitan in charge of the diocese to the East of the Euphrates) was also placed at that time. Other four monasteries mentioned in the colophon—of Mār Yaʿqōb, of Mār Behnām, of Mār ʿAzazēl, and of Mārt Maryam that is known as the Monastery “of the drop of water”—are small West Syriac cloisters located above Dayr al-Zaʿfarān, nearby it. All of them are listed in the book by Afrem Barsoum in his book on this famous monastery.⁴³

43 *Histoire du couvent de S. Hanania appele Deir-uz-Zafaran par P. Aphram Barsaum* (Mardin: Saffron Monastery, 1917), 34.

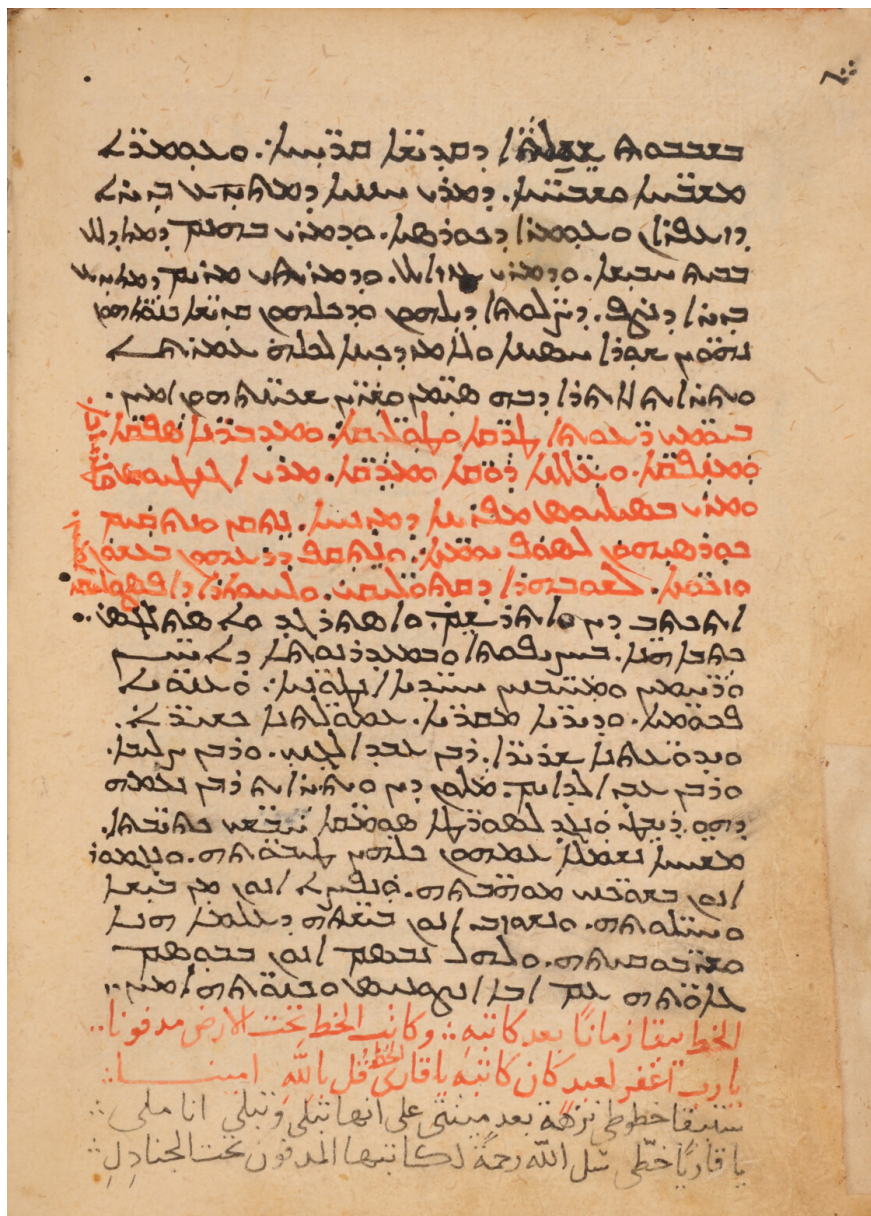


FIGURE 4 DCA 65; 1553, *Metrical Grammar* by Bar 'Ebrōyō; Chaldean Diocese of Alqosh; fol. 113^v, colophon written in 'Abdišō' of Gazarta's hand (continuation)

This book was written, drawn and copied by an effort and help of our brothers and our dear friends, Antonian hermits, and Pachomian cenobites, and choice monks and diligent workers, and true scholars Rabban ‘Abd al-Ġanī, and Rabban Šlibā, and Rabban ‘Abd al-Dā‘im, and most of all, our lord Nī‘mah [or: Na‘amah], who drew out red lines that enclose the script (DCA 65, fol. 113^v; Fig. 4).

The last name mentioned in the colophon is very likely to be an abbreviation for Nī‘matallah, which is a usual practice in the Near East. The way it is written in the colophon, with the final *h*, is a usual way of rendering the Arabic *Tā’ marbūṭa* (ة), which was usually not pronounced, in the Garshuni texts. The reference apparently pertains to the famous West Syriac scholar and literateur of the same name, who was initiated as a monk in the Dayr al-Za‘farān in 1535, meaning that he might have lived there at the time of ‘Abdišō’s visit to Mardin. It is even known that the short form of the name, Nī‘ma [or: Na‘ama], was attested for him.⁴⁶

In Mardin, one of the most important cultural centers of West Syriac tradition, Nī‘matallah studied history, logic, astronomy, medicine and the art of drawing. In 1555, he was ordained as a maphrian, and in two more years as Patriarch Ignatius of the Syriac Orthodox (West Syriac) Church, after the death of ‘Abdallah I. Despite his numerous important positions, his unique fate gained him renown. After Ignatius Nī‘matallah established contacts with the Roman Church, the Ottoman authorities forced him to resign and convert to Islam under threat of death in 1576. He eventually fled to Rome, returned to Christianity, and participated in the Pope’s committee on the calendar reform. Contributing to this calendar, Nī‘matallah made the works of the famous Arabic astronomers available to this committee. One year after introducing the Gregorian calendar to Catholic countries, he died.⁴⁷

By naming this famous prelate and scholar, this colophon offers a unique case of collaboration between two future patriarchs from two different Churches to create one manuscript. The colophon specifies that the West Syriac monk’s supplied the red-ink lines that frame the text. Framing the text field (not the miniatures or colophons) in Syriac manuscripts was not as widespread as in Persian and Arabic ones. It occurs there rather rarely, usually in cases,

46 See Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 54.

47 See G. Kiraz, “Nī‘matullah, Ignatius,” in *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, eds. S.P. Brock, A.M. Butts, G. Kiraz, L. van Rompay (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 308.

Since a few other names are mentioned as the assistants, one may expect that some elements of the manuscript decoration were produced by them, for instance, the calligraphy that forms the decorative borders (see Fig. 5), and the paintings that were filling them. The “brothers” could not have contributed to the rubrics because they were made in East Syriac script resembling the handwriting throughout the text. Additionally, ‘Abdīšō’s other manuscripts demonstrate that he used to write the rubrics himself (see Table 1, No. 1, 3, 5, 8). Unlike them, the calligraphy in the decorative borders is written in Estrangela handwriting, a style dating to the earlier stage of Syriac script, yet still used in both Churches for decoration and titling, as well as for the text in illuminated Gospel lectionaries.⁴⁹

In any case, the colophon's list of monastic contributors reveal that the manuscript was a product of extensive collaboration between two Church traditions.

[illegible]

48 See W.H.P. Hatch, "An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts," in *Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera*, 2nd series (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1946), 15–16. The operation is referred to as "ruling columns in ink."

49 For instance, see Pritula, "East Syriac Poetry Embedded in the Manuscript Illumination," 26–36.

50 See for instance DCA 65, fol. 68^v, 78^v, 82^r, 83^r, 84^r, 85^v, 88^r, 89^r, 90^v, 91^v, 92^v, 97^v, 101^v, 102^v, 104^r, 104^v, 108^v, 109^v.

Based on the colophon dates of these two manuscripts, it can be assumed that the scribe made numerous trips to these monasteries in Mardin, at least from 1547 to 1553, with whose monks he maintained longstanding contacts. It is even possible that he had a long term staying there and copied a number of manuscripts based on the *Vorlagen* kept in the monastery libraries.

‘Abdīšō’s communication with the prelates of the Syriac Orthodox Church that might have had a rather constant and intensive character are reflected also in two odes composed by him, one dedicated to a prelate, apparently a *maphrian* (CCM 398, fol. 248^r–248^v), and another one, to a “*maphrian, who has become patriarch*” (CCM 398, fol. 248^v–149^r); both were never published and survive only in CCM 398 (see Appendix 1, 7). Both have acrostics with the name of addressee, the first one—Basilius, and the second one—Ignatius, in both cases exact persons’ identification is not obvious, each of them being a standard part of an official name of anyone who had a corresponding Church position. As for the patriarchs, given the lifespan of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta, they could be either Ignatius ‘Abdallah 1 bar Stephanōs (1521–1557) or the aforementioned Ignatius Ni‘matallah (1557–1576).⁵¹

Literary contacts and textual transmissions between two Syriac traditions are evinced by more than these manuscripts. Such contacts occurred for centuries, indicating that their shared roots were never entirely severed. The link between them became stronger during the Syriac Renaissance, when both Churches’ prelates participated in the Mongol dynasty’s court ceremonies. For example, Grīgōriūs bar ‘Ebrōyō and Khāmīs bar Qardāḥē, two outstanding *literati* from both Churches, conducted a correspondence in poetry.⁵² The latter, probably slightly younger, even dedicated at least two odes to his West-Syriac contemporary, odes that were recently studied and published by the present author.

The two aforementioned odes by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta demonstrate that literary and personal contacts between the two Churches also existed in the 16th century, when multi-denominational literary circles became a standard model for the Syriac Renaissance. Writers from both Church traditions used this pattern to create historical parallels to contemporaneous events. The resulting poems especially focused on the movement to unify with the Roman Church,

⁵¹ Gorgias *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, 488–489.

⁵² For instance see A. Pritula, “Zwei Gedichte des Hāmīs bar Qardāḥē: Ein Hochgesang zu Ehren von Bar ‘Ebrōyō und ein Wein-Gedicht für die Khan-Residenz,” in *Geschichte, Theologie und Kultur des syrischen Christentums: Beiträge zum 7. Deutschen Syrologie-Symposium in Göttingen, Dezember 2011*, Hrsg. M. Tamcke, S. Grebenstein (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), 315–328; Pritula, “One More Unknown Khāmīs’ Ode.”

intensifying inter-Church contacts between most Eastern Churches during the 16th century.

4 Manuscript of the *Metrical Grammar* copied by ‘Aṭṭāyē (‘Aṭṭāyā)
from ‘Abdišō’s Vorlage

The above-mentioned manuscript written by ‘Abdīšō‘ was apparently used as a *Vorlage* for another copy of the *Metrical Grammar* by Bar ‘Ebrōyō, presently in the Chaldean collection of Mardin (CCM 24; see Fig. 6).⁵³ A section of the colophon mentions that this manuscript was written “in the blessed and blissful Gazarta of Bēt Zabday” (CCM 24, fol. 10^r) in Summer of 1866 AG/1555 CE (CCM 24, fol. 9^v). Besides, colophon reads:

١١٠^r
 ١١٠^v

110^r The feeble one, wrote, spoiled, i.e. soiled the paper—in a way that is usual
110^v for scribes—the priest, ‘Aṭṭāyē by name, | son of the priest Faraj, the pil-
grim,⁵⁴ son of the deacon Marqōs of Alqosh; and now they have got settled
and live in the city of Gazarta of Bēt Zabday.

This book was written from a manuscript and a copy produced by our blessed and blissful father Mār ‘Abdīšō’, bishop of Gazarta in Bēt Zabday.

53 Available at vHMLL site: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/132226>. See also Pritula, “East Syriac Literary Life.”

54 On the meaning and origin of the term **ܡܚܕܩܝܐ** see H. Kaufhold, "Der Ehrentitel 'Jerusalem-pilger' (syrisch maqdšāyā, arabisch maqdisī, armenisch mahtesi)," *OC* 75 (1991): 44–61.

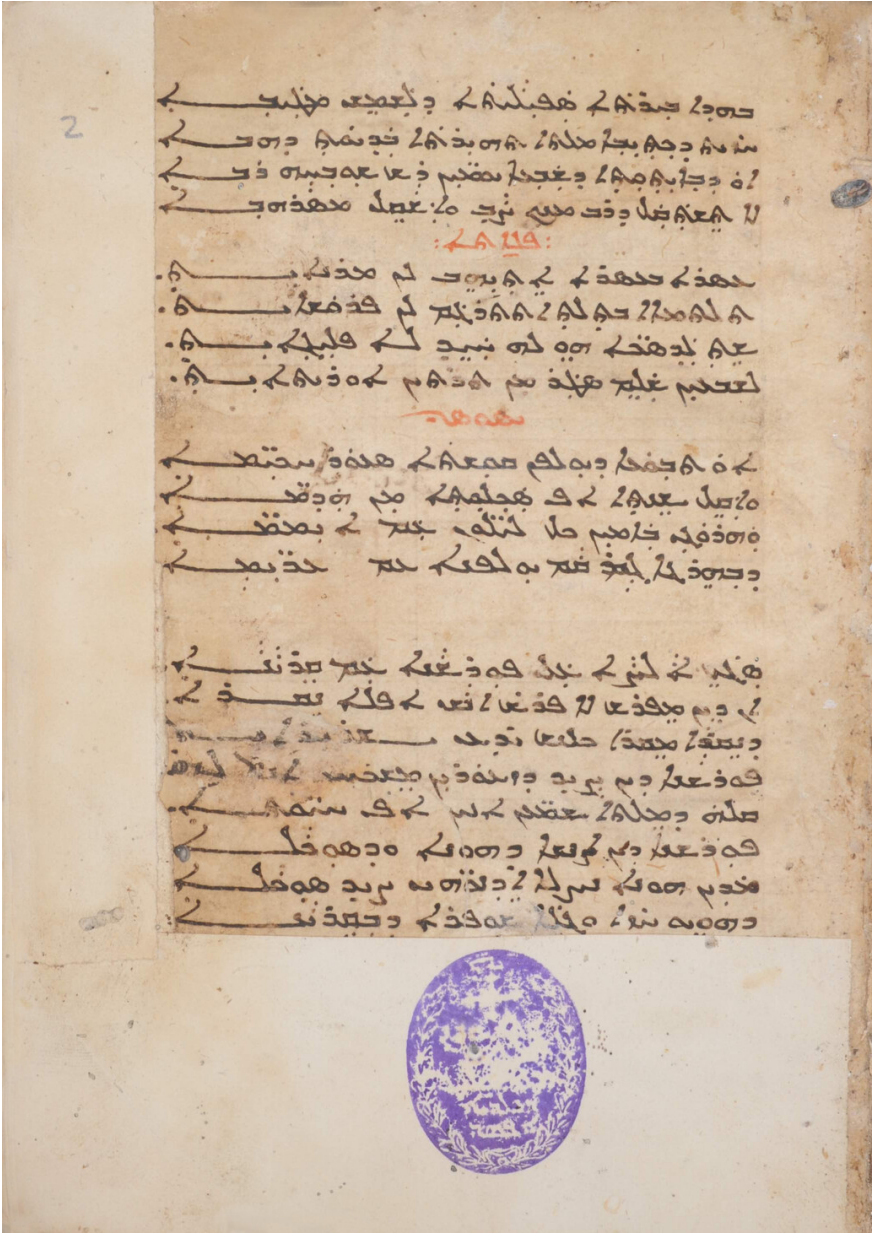


FIGURE 6 CCM 24; 1555, *Metrical Grammar* by Bar 'Ebrōyō; Chaldean Cathedral of Mardin; fol. 2r, four short poems on grammar written in 'Aṭṭāyē's hand

Everyone, who will read it, may pray for its scribe and about his physical and spiritual fathers, amen!

I insistently entreat everyone who comes across the weakness of these letters of mine, if he finds an error of an unintentional imperfection, that he does not address an abuse and put blame on me—and if he does, a part of it would fall on him and a part on me; but it is appropriate that he corrects it with love and prays about my weakness, and would say from his entire heart:

“God, Lord of everything, forgive by your clemency the one who wrote [it], and pour out your love on him and his physical and spiritual fathers in the hour, when an excuse is required, amen!”

Blessed is God forever, and glorious is His name for eternity (CCM 24, fol. 110^r–110^v)!

Thus, the copy was made a year after the *Vorlage* by ‘Abdīšō‘ was completed. The copyist ‘Aṭṭāyē of Alqosh worked mostly in the city of Gazarta, and is probably the most well-known East Syriac scribe of the early modern period. About thirty manuscripts of his production have survived in the chronological range between 1536 and 1594.⁵⁵ Apparently, this manuscript was copied while ‘Abdīšō‘ was staying in this city, when he might have delivered his autograph for copying. It is not known for sure who commissioned this copy and which patriarchal line he adhered to. ‘Aṭṭāyē himself is known as a priest of the traditional East Syriac (Rabban Hōrmīzd) line, which makes his mentioning of the Chaldean bishop ‘Abdīšō‘ rather unusual and requiring some explanation. This name appeared in the part of the colophon in connection with the manuscript’s pedigree—a reference to a *Vorlage* of the present copy, as it is common for late East Syriac manuscript colophons. The owner and the scribe of the *Vorlage* is mentioned with his Church title as bishop of Gazarta, which might have been in fact also a part of his name. Since ‘Abdīšō‘ originated from the same city, and most likely, was ‘Aṭṭāyē’s teacher in literary—and possibly, scribal—activities (see above, Chapter 1, Section 1), which could explain such close contacts between the two *literati* from the two rival lines.⁵⁶

Thus, one may conclude that at least in the period in question, the Church schism did not have a critical impact on the clerical literary circles that were formed along either geographic or family lines.⁵⁷

55 Wilmhurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 114, 400–423.

56 I discuss the relations of these two poets and scribes, as well as the origin of ‘Abdīšō‘ in more detail in Pritula, “East Syriac Literary Life.”

57 The problem of the distribution of manuscripts within particular churches and even fam-

As one may assume from the information in the manuscripts, ‘Aṭṭāyē might have eventually converted in the new Church so that he was again in the same community to which his teacher ‘Abdīšō‘ belonged. As we have pointed out elsewhere, a quatrain was found in a manuscript kept in the Saint Jacob the Recluse monastery library that relates about ‘Aṭṭāyē’s death in 1596.⁵⁸ It can be assumed that this scribe spent the last years of his life in this monastery, known at this period as the patriarchal See of the new church line. Often such notes of death were made when a person died in that monastery. Although one should not exclude the factor that manuscripts traveled from library to library.⁵⁹

As Murre-van den Berg has shown, the colophons of that period have a certain structure containing an obligatory (or almost obligatory) set of propositions,⁶⁰ where mentioning the church authorities is important for the designation of the manuscript authorized ecclesiastic status. However, referring to the name of ‘Abdīšō‘ is meant here not as a Church authority to which the scribe belongs, but rather as a reference to the reliability of the manuscript’s text. And it is very likely that this literateur was well-known in this area as a writer and scribe, which might have increased the value of ‘Aṭṭāyē’s copy.⁶¹

In the section of the colophon mentioning the Church authorities, ‘Aṭṭāyē refers to the Rabban Hōrmīzd monastery line of the East Syriac Church and its prelates, such as traditional Patriarch Šem‘ōn (apparently, Šem‘ōn VII, 1539–1558) and Yawsep, bishop of Mansuriya and Gazarta (ca. 1555–ca. 1558)⁶² with appropriate honorific epithets (fol. 110^r). It is well-known that the copyist of this manuscript was an adherent of the traditionalist patriarch line—as well as the city of Gazarta itself at that period. Thus, his mentioning this line in the relevant part of the colophon is quite natural, while the mention of ‘Abdīšō‘,

ilies in East Syriac communities has been addressed in an article by Lucy Parker and Rosie Maxton (see L. Parker, A. Maxton, “Archiving faith: record-keeping and catholic community formation in Eighteenth-Century Mesopotamia,” *Past & Present* 257.1 (2022): 89–133); see also Parker, “Yawsep I of Amida”, 121–152.

58 See Pritula, “East Syriac Poetry Embedded in the Manuscript Illumination,” 29. This information was provided by Aḫrāhām Šekwānā, a famous scribe (active late 19th–early 20th century), who left a note in manuscript DCA 96 (1585 CE), saying that he had seen this quatrain in a manuscript in the monastery of Saint Jacob the Recluse, near Seert.

59 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 94–97.

60 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 113–143.

61 Moreover, the two manuscripts under discussion became a text authority for later copies of the text. Thus, a manuscript of the *Metrical Grammar* written in 1723 (now, in Tehran, source number TEH SJ 1) mentions them both in the colophon (fol. 257^{rv}) as its *Vorlage*; available at vHML site: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/501321>.

62 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 102, 103, 117, 351, 823.

the Uniate bishop of Gazarta, refers to the aspect of the manuscript's textual authority.

Nevertheless, similar or even more complicated cases of referring to two parallel East Syriac Churches' hierarchies in one manuscript are already known in the East Syriac tradition of this period. Thus, Brock collected a few such examples in his article on the East Syriac manuscripts donated to the East Syriac church of Mārt Maryam in Jerusalem. Most of them were written in the 16th–17th centuries and mention either two patriarchs of both the Qudshanis and Rabban Hōrmīzd lines or a patriarch of the one line and a bishop representing the other one at the same time.⁶³ Such cases apparently need a more detailed study, first of all, to register the exact place of all such references in the colophons. Some of them might belong to the paragraphs referring to commissioners, donors, or scribes of a *Vorlage*, i.e. in any functions, others than direct Church authority. On the other hand, the above-mentioned cases certainly demonstrate an extremely complex ecclesiastic situation in this period of the East Syriac Church history.

One should also question, what the manuscript authority in that period meant. As pointed out by Murre-van den Berg, it became an important component in the text transmission, stating its correctness and reliability.⁶⁴

Now let us briefly dwell on some peculiarities of the design of the manuscript in question. The framing in red ink used in the copy written by 'Aṭṭāyē is much less careful and strait than that of its *Vorlage*, to which a few West Syriac monks might have contributed. Apparently, such a type of frame used for *Metrical Grammar* by Bar 'Ebrōyō was not quite usual for an East Syriac scribe. The rubric is written in Estrangela, in large letters very similar in shape to those in the *Vorlage* by 'Abdīšō'. The color of the letters in this case are in alternating red and gold ink, which is common for East Syriac manuscript production. The space around the headings is not filled with paint, but rather left blank, unlike that of the *Vorlage*. All the decorative elements are worked in red and black ink, in contrast to the *Vorlage* whose decoration is in typical East Syriac tradition. Thus, the design of 'Aṭṭāyē's copy partially imitates the West Syriac tradition, but in most aspects the copyist follows the East Syriac one, to which he belonged. It is quite intriguing that the most famous manuscript produced by this scribe, the Gospel lectionary now in the Vatican Library (Borg. Syr. 169) has a very elegant framing and extremely high quality design. This Evangelion was completed in Jerusalem in 1576.⁶⁵ One may question whether these ele-

63 Brock, "East Syriac pilgrims," 197.

64 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 113–143.

65 See J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe*

ments of the decoration were completed by the scribe in person, or by more decorators, possibly West Syriac ones, contributing to it. Both are quite possible: the chronological distance between the two copies produced by ‘Aṭṭāyē is 21 years, during which his scribal and decorative skills could significantly develop. On the other hand, in Jerusalem, a traditional center of West Syriac Christianity, an active collaboration with the adepts of this tradition is very likely.

As for the textual comparison of the two manuscripts of the *Metrical Grammar* in question, not just the contents of the *Vorlage* itself, but even most of the short poems preceding the main text were copied by ‘Aṭṭāyē, so that the general layout has been taken over from the source text.⁶⁶ However, short poems on front and rear flyleaves of the *Vorlage* written by ‘Abdišō‘ (see Table 2, No. 1–4, 17–27) are absent from the copy by ‘Aṭṭāyē. This may mean that these small texts were written after the latter had made it: some of them by ‘Abdišō‘ thereafter, and some in a different hand, which might be a latter addition (see below, Chapter 5, Section 4).

The following table shows comparatively the contents of the two mentioned manuscripts of the *Metrical Grammar*.

TABLE 2 Contents of DCA 65 and CCM 24 containing the *Metrical Grammar* by Bar ‘Ebrōyō, and other texts⁶⁷

Number of the text	The text title	Foliation in DCA 65	Foliation in CCM 24
1	Quatrain on testing ink (in the scribe's hand)	3 ^r	–
2	Two quatrains on studying grammar (in the scribe's hand)	3 ^v	–
3	Quatrain on books (in the scribe's hand)	4 ^r	–
4	Title page of <i>Metrical grammar</i> by Bar ‘Ebrōyō (in the scribe's hand)	4 ^v	–
5	Six short poems on grammar (in the scribe's hand)	5 ^r	3 ^v –4 ^r
6	Four short poems on grammar	5 ^v	2 ^r
8	Notes on grammar (in the scribe's hand)	6 ^r –7 ^r	2 ^v –3 ^r
9	<i>Metrical grammar</i> by Bar ‘Ebrōyō	7 ^v –112 ^v	4 ^v –110 ^v
10	Colophon (in the scribe's hand)	112 ^v –114 ^r	
11	Note on overthrow Gazarta by <i>amīr</i> Badrū (in the scribe's hand)	114 ^r	

et d'Orient. Contribution à l'étude de l'iconographie des églises de langue syriaque (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1964), 404–408. Available at the Vatican Library site: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Borg.sir.169.

66 For instance, see DCA 65 (fol. 5^v) and CCM 24 (fol. 2^r).

67 The notes on the flyleaves are not mentioned. For more details, see Pritula, “‘Abdišō‘ of Gāzartā, the First Literate of the Chaldean Church.”

TABLE 2 Contents of DCA 65 and CCM 24 containing the *Metrical Grammar* by Bar ‘Ebrōyō, and other texts (*cont.*)

Number of the text	The text title	Foliation in DCA 65	Foliation in CCM 24
12	Explanations of terms + quatrain on wisdom and reading books (in the scribe's hand)	114 ^v	111 ^v
13	Poem about injustice of the world (in the scribe's hand)	115 ^r	112 ^r
14	Mēmra about the soul that is like a bird, by Bar Ma’danī (in the scribe's hand)	115 ^v –121 ^v	112 ^v –118 ^v
15	Mēmra about nobility the soul and its humiliation though breaking commandments, by the same one (in the scribe's hand)	121 ^v –122 ^v	118 ^v –120 ^r
16	Mēmra on the way of the perfect and their grades, by the same one (in the scribe's hand)	123 ^r –129 ^r	120 ^r –126 ^r
17	Madraša by priest Ṭalyā on late his brother (later addition in a different hand)	129 ^v –130 ^r	–
18	Mēmra on divine wisdom, by a philosopher, i.e. by Bar ‘Ebrōyō (in the scribe's hand)	130 ^v –138 ^v	–
19	On wisdom that can be obtained only through journeys, by Khāmis (in the scribe's hand)	138 ^v –139 ^r	–
20	Nine quatrains by Maphrian, i.e. Bar ‘Ebrōyō (in the scribe's hand)	140 ^v –141 ^r	–
21	Short poems in Arabic and Garshuni (in the scribe's hand)	141 ^r –142 ^r	–
22	Nine quatrains in praise of pastors by Maphrian, i.e. Bar ‘Ebrōyō (in the scribe's hand)	142 ^v –143 ^v	–
23	Five quatrains by priest Ṭalyā (later addition in a different hand) + ownership notes in Syriac and Arabic (in different hands)	142 ^v –143 ^v	–
24	Two quatrains by Yawsep (later addition in a different hand)	145 ^r	–
25	Short poems (in the scribe's hand)	145 ^v	–
26	Notes and comments (in the scribe's hand)	145 ^r –148 ^r	–
27	Two quatrains (later addition in a different hand)	148 ^v	–

5 Bilingual Manuscript SMMJ 159⁶⁸

This manuscript was written by ‘Abdišō‘ in 1556 while he was a patriarch (see Table 1, No. 8; Fig. 7). As follows from the Poetic colophon, it was copied for Mār Ya‘qōb, the supervisor of the Ya‘qōb Ḥbīšāyā monastery, the patriarchal residence (see Text 11.11, stanza 3; Fig. 7).⁶⁹

68 See the description in Dolabani, Ibrahim, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts*, 339–344. Available online at vHMMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/501291>.

69 Scher, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et arabes*, 11–12.

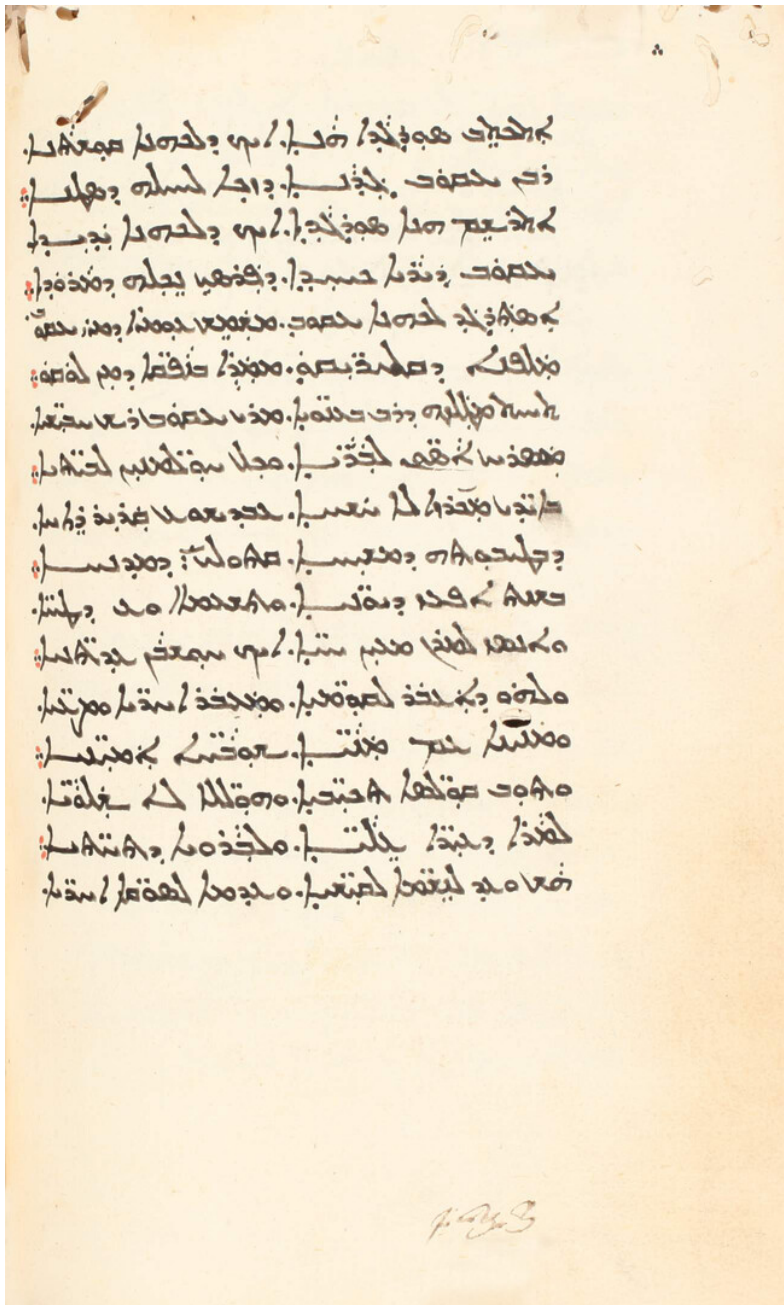


FIGURE 7 SMMJ 159; 1567, *Miscellanea*; St. Mark Monastery, Jerusalem; fol. 133^r, poetic colophon written in 'Abdišo' of Gazarta's hand

This was drawn for the priest Ya‘qōb,
 the steward of the monastery of Mār Ya‘qōb,
 the teacher of the clergymen,
 imitator of those leaving Egypt.⁷⁰

Like the versified colophon of SMMJ 116, that of this manuscript has a strophic structure of 7-7-7-7 syllables in each stanza, with a regular rhyme. The manuscript contains a lot of varied texts, including *Questions and answers* by John Chrysostom (fol. 3^v–46^v); *Syriac-Arabic and Greek-Syriac vocabularies* (fol. 46^v–55^v); *Homily on fasting and on the Pentateuch* by Ephrem of Nisibis (fol. 138^v–139^r). Besides, the copy contains numerous hymns and poems by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta himself, ‘Abdīšō‘ of Ātēl (later addition), Abrāhām of Bēt Slōk, and Israel of Alqosh (later addition).

The manuscript contains many texts in Arabic written in ‘Abdīšō‘’s hand, being the third extant manuscript in this language written by him after SOAH 56 (1547) and DFM 424 (1560) (see Table 1, No. 1, 6) Besides, it contains numerous poems in both Syriac and Arabic in the same hands and a lot of notes. The Arabic and bilingual poems deserve a special research, since they were never studied before either. In case they are attributed to ‘Abdīšō‘ himself, he may be treated as a bilingual poet, which reflects on the general linguistic and social situation the Christian communities were facing in Islamic times. The study of these works, however, is a matter for the future.

Text and Translation 11.11. Poetic Colophon in SMMJ 159

Manuscript used:

– SMMJ 159, fol. 133^r (Fig. 7)

ܐܒܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ 1
 ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ

ܐܒܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ 2
 ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ

ܐܒܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ 3
 ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ

⁷⁰ I.e. the monks who moved from Egypt to Mesopotamia and founded monasteries there.

4 ܐܡܢܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܕܬܬܡܐ: ܡܕܒ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܫܬܡܐ.
 ܡܕܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ: ܡܕܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ ❖

5 ܬܡܕܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ: ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ.
 ܕܬܬܡܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ: ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ ❖

6 ܬܡܕܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ: ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ.
 ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ: ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ ❖

7 ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ: ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ.
 ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ: ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ ❖

8 ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ: ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ.
 ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ: ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ ❖
 ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ: ܡܕܬܐ ܡܩܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܡܐ

- 1 This poem⁷¹ was written
 for the true priest,
 the lucky Rabban Ya'qōb,
 who defeated the power of Satan.
- 2 This poem was written
 for the loved priest
 Ya'qōb, the reverent monk,
 who has revealed the guile of the rebellious one.⁷²
- 3 This was drawn for the priest Ya'qōb,
 the steward of the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb,
 the teacher of the clergymen,
 imitator of those leaving Egypt⁷³
- 4 under a canopy of the leader of the ascetics,
 Mār Ya'qōb, head of the anchorites,
 granting cure to the outsiders
 and various healings to the insiders

⁷¹ Or: this line.

⁷² I.e. the demon.

⁷³ ܠܝܠܝܬ (Lycos, Lycus) means the land of Egypt; cf. *Thesaurus Syriacus auxit digessit exposuit*, vol. 1, 2, ed. R. Payne Smith (London: Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1879), 1916.

- 5 with the hands of a non-proper preacher
 ‘Abdīšō’, whose flame has got cold,
 who is by the grace of Christ
 Catholicos of the East,
- 6 in the year 1877 by the Greeks,
 and 970 by the Arabs,
 and 1567 by our Lord, the source of life,
 according the Church reckoning.
- 7 And to Him, who surpassed the ancient [times],
 and surpasses the new and the middle ones,
 numbering and numerals
 be permanent glory!
- 8 And also cheerful praises,
 and uninterrupted chanting
 to the Lord of the elevated guardians
 and the Creator of those below,
 now and as long as [one] respires,
 and until the last breaths!

6 ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta’s Note: Reconstructing His Personal Library

In the final section of this chapter, we discuss a note by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta that lists the manuscripts he owned. The record is of great significance, because it illustrates an aspect of intellectual life and book transmission among East Syriac elites under the Ottomans. The note is written on a flyleaf of manuscript SMMJ 116 and was undoubtedly written by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta himself, since his hand can be easily recognized, and additionally his name is mentioned in the first person (SMMJ 116, rear flyleaf ii^v; see Fig. 8). Importantly, he calls himself a patriarch, which establishes the *terminus post quem*—1555, the year he became a patriarch—for creating this short text. Although his handwriting contains more cursive lines than the rest of the manuscript, one can still see that it is written in the same hand. There are also notes by the patriarch in other copies produced by him, written in a similar cursive hand.⁷⁴ It is important that the

74 For instance, see SMMJ 159; <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/501291>.

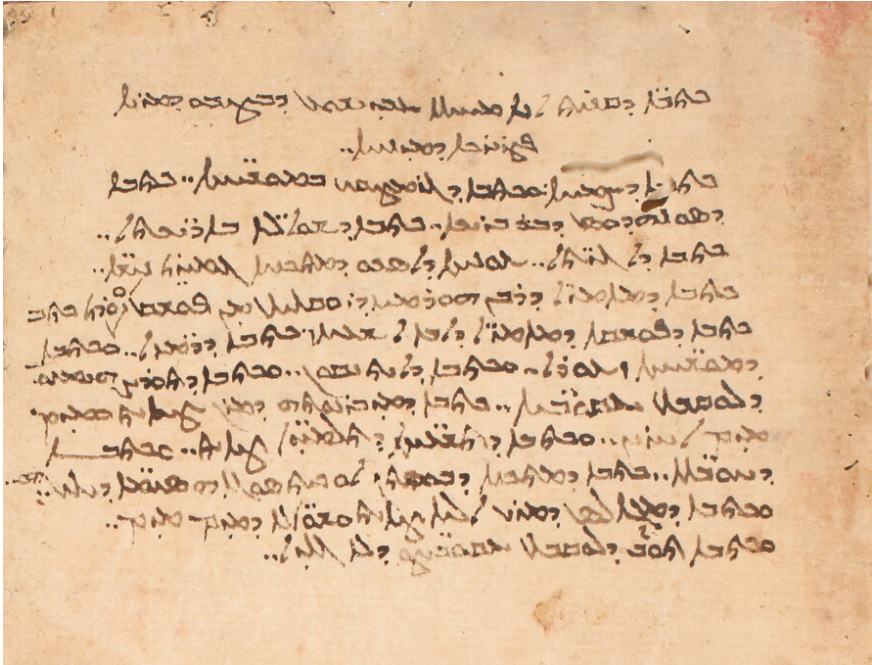


FIGURE 8 SMMJ 116; 1554, *Rites of consecration and ordination*; St. Mark Monastery, Jerusalem; rear flyleaf ii' (detail), note in 'Abdišo' of Gazarta's hand

patriarch seems to have written this note himself; he was apparently not much concerned about readers understanding the titles of books that he listed, since he wrote very briefly, which may cause problems in identifying some of the books. Moreover, it is a common feature of medieval text transmission that the same text could circulate under two or even more titles; the one mentioned does not necessarily coincide with the one we commonly use.

The note in question is of great value for scholars who study the late Syriac literary tradition. It not only demonstrates what sources inspired this writer in creating a literary tradition for the new Church, but also reveals the intellectual life of and text transmission among the educated Christian elite of the Near East in early modernity, the period when the Ottoman Empire was at its height. Here below it is reproduced and translated for the first time (cf. SMMJ 116, rear flyleaf ii'; Fig. 8).

[‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta’s Personal Book List: Text and Translation]

ܐܬܬܐ ܕܢܬܝܒܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
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 [3] ܐܬܬܐ ܕܢܬܝܒܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
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 [7] ܐܬܬܐ ܕܢܬܝܒܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
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 [9] ܐܬܬܐ ܕܢܬܝܒܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
 [10] ܐܬܬܐ ܕܢܬܝܒܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
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 [12] ܐܬܬܐ ܕܢܬܝܒܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
 [13] ܐܬܬܐ ܕܢܬܝܒܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
 [14] ܐܬܬܐ ܕܢܬܝܒܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
 [15] ܐܬܬܐ ܕܢܬܝܒܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
 [16] ܐܬܬܐ ܕܢܬܝܒܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
 [17] ܐܬܬܐ ܕܢܬܝܒܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
 [18] ܐܬܬܐ ܕܢܬܝܒܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
 [19] ܐܬܬܐ ܕܢܬܝܒܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
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Books that I, the feeble ‘Abdīšō‘, by the Lord’s mercy Patriarch of the East, have acquired

[1] Book of Splendors; [2] Book of the Metrical Grammar; [3] Book of the Synodicon by Bar Briḵā; [4] Book of Questions, detailed; [5] Book of Epistles; [6] ‘*Ōnītā*’ by Askō, called meaningful;⁷⁵ [7] Book of Homilies on Rabban Hōrmīzd; [8] and a little from the Explanation of the Scriptures; [9] Book of Commentaries on the Book of Homilies by Abba Isaiah; [10] Book of Directives; [11] Small Book of Poems; [10] Book of the Ethicon; [13] Book of the Right Faith, against the Jacobites; [14] Book on our Lord’s Economy, in Arabic, and something else; [15] Book of the Stories of the Disciples, in Arabic; [16] Book of Retributions; [17] Book called *Būstān*, a greater part of which are my own writings; [18] Book of Sessions by Mār Eliyā, in Arabic, and some other questions; [19] and also the Book against the Jacobites, without binding (SMMJ 116, rear flyleaf ii^v)

Most of the texts listed by the patriarch were composed during the so-called Syriac Renaissance, roughly dating from the 11th to the early 14th century.⁷⁶

Items No. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 12, 13 and 18 of the list originate from this period. Title No. 17 in the list is the famous apologetic book in Arabic by Eliya of Nisibis (975–1046), the first acknowledged author of the Syriac Renaissance period, based on his dispute with ‘Alī ibn al-Maghribī.⁷⁷

75 Or: of perfect contents, of complete contents.

76 See H. Teule, “The Syriac Renaissance,” in *The Syriac Renaissance*, ed. by H. Teule, C. Fotesco Tauwinkl (ECS 9; Leuven; Paris; Walpole: Peeters, 2010), 1–31.

77 For a detailed study and a critical edition, see N.N. Seleznev, *Kniga sobesedovaniy Illi, mitropolita Nisivina, vazirom Abu-l-Kasimim al-Khusaynom ibn ‘Alī al-Maghribi i Poslanie*

Book no. 3, *The Synodicon* ‘*Abdīšō*’ *Bar Briḳā* is another title for this author’s famous *Nomocanon*,⁷⁸ the original Syriac title of which is *Kunnāshā psīqāyā d-qānōnē sunhādīqāyē* (“Concise Collection of Synodal Canons”). This is a compilation of canon law created by the historic synods of the Church of the East.⁷⁹

Intriguingly, at least five items listed (No. 1, 2, 8, 10 and 12) are works by the polymath Grīgōrīūs bar ‘Ebrōyō, the most prolific, versatile and significant author of the aforementioned epoch, yet a prelate of the West Syriac (Syriac Orthodox) tradition. The books in question are the *Book of Splendors*, a detailed prose treatise on Syriac grammar (No. 1),⁸⁰ the *Metrical Grammar*, a verse treatise on Syriac grammar (No. 2),⁸¹ the *Explanation of the Scriptures*, a commentary on the Bible (No. 8),⁸² the *Book of Directives*, a Syriac translation of the treatise *Kitāb al-Iṣārāt wa-al-tanbīhāt* (“Book of Directives and Remarks”) by Ibn Sīnā (No. 10),⁸³ and the *Book of the Ethicon*, an ethical guide regarding the Christian life (No. 12).⁸⁴

mitropotila Ilīi vezīru Abu-l-Kasīmī [Книга собеседований Илиі, митрополита Нусувина, с везиром Абӯ-л-Қасимом ал-Хусайном ибн ‘Аліі ал-Магрибіі и Послание митрополита Илиі везиру Абӯ-л-Қасиму] (M.: Grifon, 2017).

- 78 S. Rassi, *Justifying Christianity in the Islamic Middle Ages: the apologetic theology of ‘Abdīshō’ bar Briḳā* (d. 1318), a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2015), 11–12; for the edition of the earliest extant manuscript, see *The Nomocanon of Abdisho of Nisibis: a Facsimile Edition of MS 64 from the Collection of the Church of the East in Trissur*, ed. by I. Perczel (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2005).
- 79 Rassi, *Justifying Christianity in the Islamic Middle Ages*, 12.
- 80 See H. Takahashi, *Barhebraeus: A Bio-Bibliography* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2005), 82, 356, 374–384.
- 81 See Takahashi, *Barhebraeus: A Bio-Bibliography*, 80, 358–372. This work that survives in more than 150 manuscripts is apparently one of the most popular works in Syriac (see Takahashi, *Barhebraeus: A Bio-Bibliography*, 80). See the most recent list of extant manuscripts of the work in M. Farina, “Manuscripts de grammaires et lexiques syriaques,” in *Les auteurs syriaques et leur langue*, ed. by M. Farina (Études syriaques 15; Paris: Geuthner, 2018), 245. See the two editions of this work in *Gregorīi Bar Hebraei qui et Abulpharag Grammatica linguae syriacae in metro Ephraemeo, textum e cod. Bibl. Gottingensis edidit, vertit, annotatione instruxit*, ed. E. Bertheau (Göttingen: apud Vandenhoeck et Ruprecht, 1843); *Oeuvres grammaticales d’Abou ‘lfaraj’ dit Bar Hebreus*, ed. J.-P.-P. Martin (Paris: Maisonneuve & Comp., 1872).
- 82 This work is more commonly known as the *Storehouse of Mysteries* (*Horreum misteriorum*), (see Takahashi, *Barhebraeus: A Bio-Bibliography*, 8, 24, 28, 30, 31, 33, 50, 52, 54, 59, 60, 63, 64, 74, 79, 91, 92, 99, 105, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 115, 116, 117). It was transmitted in both West and East Syriac manuscript traditions. See the manuscripts at vHML, where it appears under the title in the list under discussion: SMMJ 41, MACCK 65, CFMM 78, CFMM 77, CPB 124.
- 83 See Takahashi, *Barhebraeus: A Bio-Bibliography*, 70, 265–268.
- 84 See Takahashi, *Barhebraeus: A Bio-Bibliography*, 65, 201–212. For a critical edition of the

As already pointed out by Murre-van den Berg, Bar ‘Ebrōyō was one of the most popular Syriac authors for many centuries, and his books on various topics were transmitted in numerous East Syriac manuscripts.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that his works are so numerous in the list of books formed by the patriarch of a rival Church being discussed. And even more surprising is that two of the listed books are treatises against the “Jacobites.”

It is also possible that No. 11 in the list (*Small Book of Poems*) also pertains to the collection of poetry by Bar ‘Ebrōyō. Since he was a prelate in the “Jacobite” Syriac Orthodox Church, the author’s name is omitted (as it was in other cases). This is quite common in the transmission of Bar ‘Ebrōyō’s work in the East Syriac manuscript tradition, where he is usually called “the maphrian,” “the philosopher” or some other such title.⁸⁶ On the other hand, the *Small Book of Poems* could be an anthology of various poets (as was common in the transmission of poetic forms in the medieval tradition), including Bar ‘Ebrōyō and Khāmīs bar Qardāhē. The poetry of the Syriac Renaissance certainly impacted the development of the later Syriac poets, particularly ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta. As we have seen, he even copied their poems on flyleaves among his own verses (see above, Section 3).⁸⁷

Curiously enough, the same list contains two books “against the Jacobites” (No. 13 and 19); such polemics were an essential topic in the East Syriac tradition and endured for several centuries. Nevertheless these polemical works were not all necessarily East Syriac works; the works of Chalcedonian authors were also used, just as one finds the treatises of various ecclesiastical traditions in the list under discussion.⁸⁸

Another verse text listed by the Patriarch (No. 6) is the ‘*Ōnūtā by Askō on the Divine Economy*. Askō is a diminutive for Ishāq, which obviously refers to

first homily, see H.G.B. Teule, *Gregory Barhebraeus. Ethicon (Mēmra 1)* (CSCO, 534–535, Syr. 218–219; Louvain: Peeters, 1993).

85 See Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 233.

86 See Pritula, “One More Unknown Khāmīs’ Ode,” 193–194.

87 See Pritula, “One More Unknown Khāmīs’ Ode,” 242 (n. 68), 243, 248, 250, 252, 254, 256, 258, 268.

88 For instance, the treatise by Proba (6th century), metropolitan of Chalcedon, called “Questions against the Jacobites.” See *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, 340. See the edition in *Una raccolta di opuscoli Calcedonensi: Ms. Sināi Syr. 10*, ed. by P. Bettolo (CSCO 403–404, Syr. 177–178; Louvain: Secretariat du Corpus SCO, 1979). Otherwise, it could be the treatise by John of Damascus (675/676–749) *Against the Jacobites*, but this work is composed in Arabic; see the edition in *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, ed. by B. Kotter, Bd. 4 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1981), 109–153; see also at vHML: CCM 367.

Iṣḥāq Šbadnāyā, a 15th century East Syriac poet who composed several hymns (*ōnyāthā*), the most famous of which is the lengthy *On the Divine Economy*, which consists of 30 sections and represents a fundamental theological compendium that is apparently listed here.⁸⁹ It utilizes many Greek loan-words,⁹⁰ as is the case with many late Syriac poems that had to demonstrate the erudition and poetic skills of their authors (see below, Chapter 4, Section 2.4).

By the *Book of Homilies on Rabban Hōrmīzd* (No. 7 in the list) must be meant the poem consisting of metrical chapters (*tarʿē*) that was composed by Sargīs bar Wahlē (active late 15th–early 16th cent.), a monk of the Rabban Hōrmīzd monastery near Alqosh, on the vita of its founder (see below, Chapter 3, Section 1).⁹¹ The poem was obviously rather popular in East Syriac monastic circles and has survived in several manuscripts.⁹² Thus, one can notice in the list under discussion a preponderance of texts composed during the Syriac Renaissance and afterwards.

One of the few earlier texts in the list is No. 9, which must be the commentary by Dādīšōʿ Qaṭrāyā (d. 604) on the book by Abba Isaiah.⁹³ This author should be distinguished from Dādīšōʿ Qaṭrāyā of the monastery of Mār Abrāhām on Mount ʿĪzlā.⁹⁴ In contrast to the latter, the author we are concerned with lived in the 7th century in the cloister of Rabban Kennārē and Rabban Šāḇōr.⁹⁵

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- 89 T. Carlson, “‘A Light from the Dark Centuries’: Iṣḥāq Shbadnaya’s Life and Work,” *Hugoye* 14.2 (2011): 191–213 (here: 194, 201–205). See also T. Carlson, “Nature of the Church (of the East) in Ishaq Shbadnaya’s ‘Poem on the Divine Economy’,” *The Harp* 27 (2011): 271–289; T. Carlson, “History and Self-Concept in the Fifteenth-Century Church of the East: The Works of Iṣḥāq Šbadnāyā and ʿĪšōʿyahb bar Mqaddam,” *Parole de l’Orient* 40 (2015): 101–113.
- 90 Carlson, “A Light from the Dark Centuries,” 204–205.
- 91 W.E. Budge, *The Life of Rabban Hōrmīzd and the Foundation of his Monastery at Al-Kōsh: A Metrical Discourse by Wahlē, Surnamed Sergius of Ādhōrbāijān* (Semitistische Studien 2.3; Berlin: Emil Felber, 1894); W.E. Budge, *The Histories of Rabban Hōrmīzd the Persian and Rabban Bar-Idtā*. 3 vols. (Luzac’s Semitic Text and Translation Series 9–11; London: Luzac and Co., 1902).
- 92 Some of them are available at vHMLL:
 – LSEM 1, link: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/518613>;
 – CCM 411, link: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/132530>;
 – DCA 127, link: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/208352>;
 – CCM 398, link: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/132517>.
- 93 See the edition in *Commentaire du Livre d’Abba Isaie (logoi 1–xv) Dadišo Qaṭraya* (VII e s.), éd. R. Draguet (CSCO 326, Scriptores Syri. 144; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1972); L. Abramowski, “Dadisho Qatraya and His Commentary on the Book of the Abbas Isaiah,” *The Harp* 4 (1991): 67–83.
- 94 M. Tamcke, “Theology and practice of the Communal life according to Dadisho,” *The Harp* 4 (1991): 177.
- 95 S.P. Brock, “Syriac Writers from Beth Qatraye,” *Aram* 11–12 (1999–2000): 85–96.

The book contains precepts on the most important issues of the monastic life, largely reflecting the ascetic views of the Egyptian elders.⁹⁶ The works of this Dādišō' Qaṭrāyā were quite popular in later centuries in the East Syriac tradition; his commentaries on the Egyptian fathers were included in the catalogue of books assembled by 'Abdīšō' Bar Briḳā.⁹⁷ Additionally, his commentary on the *Paradise of the Fathers* was even transmitted in Garshuni.⁹⁸ Such works are typical samples of ascetic literature that circulated among the educated monastic elite of the Church of the East.

The *Book of Epistles* (No. 5) must refer to a collection of epistles by a patriarch of the Church of the East, such as Īšō'yahb III (d. 659)⁹⁹ or Timothy I (727/8–823).¹⁰⁰

The *Book of Questions* (No. 4) must be a treatise on theological subjects constructed in the form of questions. One possible candidate is the *Book of Questions* by Michael Bādōqā (6th–7th cent.), or rather, one of the two books with this title by that author.¹⁰¹ It could be also be a work like the exegetical treatise by Īšō' bar Nūn (d. 828) called *Selected Questions on the Bible Text*,¹⁰² or extractions from the books of John Chrysostom called *Questions*. Interestingly enough, the latter is present in manuscript SMMJ 159, copied by 'Abdīšō'

96 Abramowski, "Dadisho Qatraya and His Commentary," 67.

97 J.S. Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, 3.1 (Rome: Sacra Congreg. de Propaganda Fide), 98–99.

98 M. Kozah, "Dadisho' Qaṭrāyā's Compendious Commentary on the Paradise of the Egyptian Fathers in Garshuni—A Case of Manuscript Mistaken Identity," in *The Syriac Writers of Qatar in the Seventh Century*, ed. by M. Kozah, A. Abu-Husayn (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 38; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2014), 195–206.

99 See R. Duval, *Ishō'yahb III, Liber Epistularum* (CSCO 11–12; Louvain: Secretariat du Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1904–1905).

100 See O. Braun, "Ein Brief des Katholikos Timotheos I über biblische Studien des 9. Jahrhunderts," in *Oriens Christianus*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1901), 299–313; O. Braun, *Timothei patriarchae I epistulae* (CSCO 74, 75, Syr. 30, 31; Louvain: Peeters, 1914–1915); S.P. Brock, "Two letters of the Patriarch Timothy from the late eighth century on translations from Greek," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 9 (1999): 233–246 (Letters 43, 48).

101 See *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, 290–291. See also L. Abramowski, A.E. Goodman, *A Nestorian collection of Christological texts: Cambridge University Library ms. Oriental 1319* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 1105–113 (Syr.); 2, 61–65.

102 See Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 233. The partial edition of the text see in E.G. Clarke, *The Selected Questions of Ishō bar Nūn on the Pentateuch: Edited and Translated from MS Cambridge Add. 2017, with a Study of the Relationship of Ishō'dādh of Merv, Theodore Bar Kōnī and Ishō bar Nūn on Genesis* (Studia Post-Biblica 5; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1962).

of Gazarta in 1567 (see above, Section 5).¹⁰³ Another possibility is the treatise called *Book of Questions and Answers* by Joseph Ḥazzāyā (8th cent.).¹⁰⁴

It is also noteworthy that three texts in this list are recorded as being in Arabic (No. 14, 15 and 17). Apart from these, text titles do not address the matter of language; Syriac was the default language at the time for the Church and obviously for ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta himself. The presence of Arabic titles in the list reflects the increasingly bilingual nature of Syriac Christianity. Indeed, ‘Abdīšō’ copied Arabic text and most likely composed poetry in this language.¹⁰⁵ One of the texts in Arabic included in the list, No. 15, the *Book of the Stories of the Disciples*, may have been a hagiographic collection of the *vitae* of the apostles or the saints, but it is impossible to say exactly which text is meant, since the information given is not enough for an exact identification.

Also Rather puzzling is No. 17 in the list, “the book called *Būstān*.” This Persian word, meaning “garden,” was borrowed into both Arabic and Syriac. It is a rather common component in the compound titles of medieval didactic books. Thus, *Būstān* could refer to the famous classical Persian poem by Muṣliḥ al-Dīn bin Abdallāh Sa’dī Šīrāzī (13th century), even now one of the most popular examples of Persian didactic literature.¹⁰⁶ Otherwise, it could be the famous Egyptian monastic anthology *Bustān al-ruhbān* (بستان الرهبان, “Garden of the Monks”) in Arabic translation.¹⁰⁷

As noted above, the list clearly indicates when texts are written in a language other than Syriac, underscoring the fact that the latter was the default language for ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta. It is also significant that ‘Abdīšō’ mentions that a large part of the books in his possession had been composed by him. In light of this, we might suggest that “the book called *Būstān*” most likely refers to a hymnal from early Ottoman times, collected by ‘Abdīšō’ and called the *Book of the Garden* (*Kṭābā d-ganntā*).¹⁰⁸ It is quite usual in manuscript transmission

103 See Pritula, “‘Abdīšō’ of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a Scribe,” 316, 319. The manuscript is available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/501291>.

104 This text was circulated to a certain degree during Ottoman times, as it was copied (formerly Diyarbakır / Scher 100) by Ēliyā Asmar Ḥabīb, ‘Abdīšō’ of Gāzartā’s contemporary and collaborator. See G. Kessel, “A little-known manuscript of the *First Part* of Isaac of Nineveh in Jerusalem,” *XB* 9 [xv] (2021): 77–95.

105 A number of purely Arabic or bilingual (Syriac-Arabic) poems is found in SMMJ 159.

106 See, for instance, *Šarḥ-i bustān*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥazāili, Tehran, 1368 [1989].

107 See the following manuscripts available at vHMML: OBC 753, ABMQ 368, ABMQ 370, ABMQ 371, OBA 462, OBA 463, ABMQ 369, ABMQ 372, OBA 461, HMIR 35, HMIR 18, SHWA 18, CFMM 435, HMIR 13, ABMQ 387, SMMJ 272, SCAA 7 168, CCM 19, CCM 17.

108 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 169, 175–176.

that the same text has more than one title, or that titles involve some variation. Thus, the list under discussion uses the Arabo-Persian word for “garden” (*bus-tān*), while the Syriac synonym (*gannṭā*) is more common in manuscripts. One should mention also that both words—the Persian/Arabic loan-word and the native one—were used in Syriac.

The list contains no books used in the liturgy, such as the *Evangelion* (Gospel lectionary). The latter were available to him in the church library, so he did not need to buy or copy them. Since the note starts with the statement that its author acquired the books listed, one can assume that he did so for himself, rather than for the Church library. If so, the note likely reflects his personal tastes and interests, which in turn indicate the general tendencies of intellectual life during the period in question. It is quite possible that, acting as a scribe, ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta used the volumes he collected as sources for the manuscripts he himself wrote; he may even have acquired them to make further copies for commission, possibly for priests in the newly-founded Church.

Thus, one of the books listed is the *Nomocanon* compiled by ‘Abdīšō‘ Bar Brīkā (No. 3). In the catalogue of the library of the Baghdad Chaldean Patriarchate, composed by Addai Scher, a manuscript of this work is mentioned which was a copy made in 1564 from a manuscript written by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta.¹⁰⁹ The manuscript is currently available online with the number CPB 410 (for the colophon mentioning the *Vorlage* by ‘Abdīšō‘, see fol. 229^r).¹¹⁰ It is very likely that ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta used the manuscript included in the list in question as a source for the copy he produced himself, which was then in turn used as a source for CPB 410.

Another manuscript ‘Abdīšō‘ produced, now housed in the Chaldean collection of Alqosh (DCA 65), discussed above under Chapter 2, Section 3, correlates with No. 2 on the list.¹¹¹ It is very likely to have also been produced from the *Vorlage* mentioned in the list under discussion. The manuscript was written by ‘Abdīšō‘ in 1553, while still bishop of Gazarta, when he was staying in Mardin. As the colophon indicates, he used several manuscripts of the *Metrical Grammar*, obviously in order to produce a kind of “critical edition,” and was assisted by the monks from Dayr al-Zaḫarān monastery, the main cloister of the Syriac Orthodox Church. It is quite possible that he had acquired a manuscript of this book on his own in order to use for his scribal work.

109 Formerly Mosul/Scher 65; written in Diyarbakir, 1564; see A. Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la bibliothèque du Patriarcat Chaldéen de Mossoul,” *Revue des bibliothèques* 17 (1907): 244.

110 See at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/500520>.

111 See Pritula, “‘Abdīšō‘ of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a Scribe,” 305–310.

One more example is the *Book of Questions* (No. 4 in the list) that very likely occurred in SMMJ 159 written by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta (see above, Chapter 2, Section 5; Fig. 7),¹¹² which is an extraction from the works of John Chrysostom, as the rubric says. In copying this text, he must have used the manuscript he owned and listed in the note in question.

One may thus conclude the following about the list of works in the note under discussion. It mentions the books that were collected by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta when he was the Chaldean Patriarch, obviously, based on his personal literary tastes and interests. That is why it contains no liturgical books. The note also reflects the literary tastes and interests of his contemporaries, ecclesiastical intellectuals of the 16th century, which makes it a very important document on manuscript circulation at this time. However, the fact that it is also a reflection of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta’s personal tastes can be seen in his interest in the works of Bar ‘Ebrōyō.

In this small list (see Fig. 8), texts composed in the Syriac Renaissance definitely prevail, although there are also later works. The list includes a large number of verse texts, perhaps reflecting both the significant popularity of poetry at the time and the personal interests of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta, himself a prolific poet. None of the listed texts in verse were composed in the centuries before the Syriac Renaissance; “the new style” of poetry to a large extent ignored earlier versified texts.

The list also contains a number of texts in Arabic, as indicated in the note, reflecting the bilingual status of Christian communities in late medieval Iraq. It is very likely that the patriarch transmitted the books he owned by copying them and presenting his manuscript production to clerics in the Chaldean Church. Such a practice is well-known in the Syriac tradition, at least since the time of the Syriac Renaissance. Generally, the list confirms that the latter period was fundamental for the formation of literary forms, literary tastes and text transmission in succeeding centuries.

112 See Pritula, “‘Abdīšō’ of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a Scribe,” 297–320. See also at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/501291>.

‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta and His Contemporaries: Poetic Communication in the Church

1 Poems by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta Dedicated to the Popes of Rome

1.1 *Ode in Honor of Pope Paul IV*

Among the many poems composed by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta is an ode devoted to a pope. In all likelihood, this panegyric was sent to the pope by the author in 1556, long before he came to Rome himself in 1562.¹ The pope in question was Paul IV, who was pontiff at the time and to whom the poem was presented. Although never before studied or critically published, the work is obviously very important, since it originates from the very start of the Chaldean Church literary tradition.

The present location of the original manuscript is unknown; we can only access the work thanks to a printed edition undertaken in 1617 in Rome.² The edition itself is a collection of documents connected with the visit and confession faith of the Archdeacon Adam, sent by Eliyā, Metropolitan of Amid (Diyarbakir) in 1614 to Pope Paul V in a bid to join the Catholic Church.³ Pietro Strozzi, the papal secretary, who was in charge of the publication of these documents, included several texts connected with the earlier activities of the Chaldean Church, including this poem by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta,⁴ apparently based on the manuscript original that was kept in the papal chancery. Thus, it is not the only publication of this text, but also the only reproduction of the original text we have. It is also noteworthy that there is no indication in the book that the poem was addressed to Paul IV. The only time the pope’s name is mentioned it is given as just ܡܠܟܐ “Paul” (see Text III.1, verses 13–14):

1 Baskins, “Popes, patriarchs, and print,” 414; Giamil, *Genuinae relationes inter sedem Apostolicam et Assyriorum Orientalium*, 27–30.

2 P. Strozzi, *Synodalia Chaldaeorvm, videlicet epistola synodica Eliae patriarchae Babylonis, & archiepiscoporum eius obendientiae: ad D. Pavlym Papam V* (Romae: Bartholomaeus Zannetti, 1617), 62–67.

3 Baskins, “Popes, patriarchs, and print,” 406.

4 Baskins, “Popes, patriarchs, and print,” 417.

Victorious one, by whom the righteous defeat the treacherous evil,
grant victory to Paul,⁵ our king, the Pope of Rome!

The readers might assume that Paul v is meant, during whose pontificate the edition came out and with whom most of the other texts are concerned. Perhaps Strozzi left it as just Paul intentionally.

The poem was typed in West Syriac *Serto* rather than in the “Nestorian” script normally used by the East Syriac tradition. There is apparently a very simple explanation; contacts with the West Syriac communities started earlier, and were developing much more intensively, than those with the East Syriac communities. By the time of Strozzi’s edition, West Syriac typography in Rome already had a long history that had started in the 16th century and resulted in a variety of books,⁶ whereas printing in the “Nestorian” script appeared much later, in 1633, and had not spread much before the 19th century.⁷

The printed text of the poem has a rather interesting lay out; it is divided into two columns, with main text grouped in the left column and the letters of an acrostic in the right column.

The only manuscript transmission of the text presently known is in BnF Syr. 434 (fol. 204^r–205^r), which represents a collection of different East Syriac religious texts of both liturgical and non-liturgical character, including apologetic, hagiographic and exegetical compositions.⁸ Although it lacks a dated colophon, it can be datable to the 18th–19th centuries, based on its paleographic features, and thus represents a rather late stage of the transmission of the text.

The print and manuscript versions feature certain discrepancies. Apart from the fact that the print is not vocalized, it also has an orthographic difference in the refrain (ܩܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܪܘܡܐ) “Pope of Rome,” where “Pope” is written in *scriptio plena* (ܩܢܐ), and “Rome” is spelled without the *syāmē* sign (ܪܘܡܐ). The former might have been an influence from Arabic or Garshuni,⁹ since printing

5 Following the *Synodalia* text (see Strozzi, *Synodalia Chaldaeorvm*).

6 See P.G. Borbone, “A Nestorian Mirror from Inner Mongolia,” *EVO* 42 (2019): 135–149, J.F. Coakley, *The Typography of Syriac: A Historical Catalogue of Printing Types, 1537–1958* (New Castle: Delaware; London: Oak Knoll Press and The British Library, 2006).

7 Borbone, “A Nestorian Mirror from Inner Mongolia,” 213; Coakley, *The Typography of Syriac*, 191.

8 For a detailed description, see F. Briquel-Chatonnet, *Manuscripts syriaques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (n° 356–435, entrés depuis 1911), de la Bibliothèque Méjanes d’Aix-en-Provence, de la Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon et de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), 178–183; Available online at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53110176r/f6.item>.

9 A writing convention using Syriac script for texts in Arabic that has been popular among

in Arabic already had a rather long tradition in Roman Catholic typographies. The latter seems to be due to the fact that using the *syāmē* sign (which normally marks the plural) was not comprehensible to the European printers.

In the manuscript, the name of the Pope to whom the poem was addressed is omitted on the line, with the space for it left blank. In the printed version, on the contrary, the name of Paul (ﻋﻮﺩﻩ) is clearly mentioned (see Text III.1, verse 14). Since it is well-known that the text was composed in order to be presented to Pope Paul v, one may assume that his name was included in the archetype, the poet's autograph itself. In the manuscript that represents a later copy, the name was skipped for some practical or political reasons. One such reason might be, for example, the intention of using the text during the pontificate of later popes.

The acrostic is lost in the manuscript, which is clearly the result of a scribal omission. It is well-known that an acrostic is present in the *turgāmā* form (on this poetic form, see Chapter 4, Section 1), which is also found in the printed version, which may well have been based on the autograph manuscript. A possible reason for such an omission might have been the non-strophic character of the text, since an acrostic usually (apart from the *turgāmā* form) marks stanzas. That is why I have followed Strozzi's *Synodalia* book¹⁰ in most discrepancies from the refrain, which might be (as mentioned above) a modification specifically undertaken for print.

The text under discussion undoubtedly belongs to this poetic form, as can be seen from its title in both print and the manuscript (see Text III.I).

It is represented in its most detailed form in the *Synodalia* version:

[illegible]

Again, a *turgāmā* before the Gospels, composed by Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ the Chaldean; in praise of the pope of Rome.¹¹

Christian communities in the Near East since the 16th–17th centuries. In recent years, a number of articles have been published on various types of texts written in Garshuni. For instance, see G. Kiraz, “Garshunography: Terminology and Some Formal Properties of Writing One Language in the Script of Another,” in *Scripts beyond Borders: A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean World*, eds. Johannes den Heijer; Andrea Schmidt; Tamara Pataridze (Louvain: Peeters), 65–74; *Writing in My Own Script: Allographic and Garshunographic Systems in Late Antiquity. Part One*, in *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, Vol. 7, No. 2–3, eds. George Kiraz and Sabine Schmidtke (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

10 Strozzi, *Synodalia Chaldaeorvm.*

11 Strozzi, *Synodalia Chaldaeorvm*, 63.

Like most other *turgāmē*, the text under discussion is composed in twelve syllable meter, has an alphabetic acrostic and a common end-rhyme. Even the initial words, *Oh, ... who believe in ...*¹²—usual for this highly standardized poetic genre—are present here (see Text III.I, verse 1):

Oh, you who believe in one God, three Persons,
Come to give praise to the Pope of Rome!

Having chosen the *turgāmā* form for a panegyric presented to the pope, the author and the patriarch of the Chaldean Church was apparently trying to demonstrate that this piece was supposed to be read in all the East Syriac churches that were under his jurisdiction. It is well-known that ‘Abdīšō’ ʿr claimed his supremacy over numerous Syriac dioceses, as far away as India, a view which was not approved by Rome.¹³ However, judging from the fact that there is only one extant manuscript copy, one may doubt that the poem was ever used in the liturgy. Normally, hymnological texts, such as the one on Mār Qūryāqōs discussed in chapter 4, were most intensively transmitted and copied.¹⁴ Thus, the poem was most likely a pure panegyric, an ode to be presented by a poet to a monarch, official or other patron, as was traditional for the Near East.

The poem is constructed as a petition addressed to Christ, very typical for the genre. The pope is represented as a mediator between God and Christians and the text is designed as a prayer to God, asking the deity to help the pope in all his activities in protecting the Church.

The imagery used in the ode is characteristic for such poems, where all possible qualities of the addressee are described and praised. The pope is shown as a person who has both spiritual and state power. That is why he is compared to a monarch (see Text III.I, verses 21–23):

Victorious one, by whom the righteous defeat the treacherous evil,
grant victory to Paul,¹⁵ our king, the Pope of Rome!

He is also described as a pontiff whose sanctity and prayers might protect believers (see Text III.I, verses 37–38), whose legitimate descendants the popes

12 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 173–174.

13 Baskins, “Popes, patriarchs, and print,” 414.

14 For instance, the *Wardā* hymnological collection that is preserved in dozens of copies (for more detail, see Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*).

15 Following the printed edition (Strozzi, *Synodalia Chaldaeorvm*, 62).

are claimed to be. He is also referred to as possessing the Church's wealth, since he is called a custodian of Christ's treasury (see Text III.1, verses 17–18):

Good one who authorized His beloved and chosen ones over his treasury,
Distribute your wealth with the hands of Your custodian, the Pope of Rome!

Some of the verses seem to allude to the contemporary political situation. The pope is represented as a warrior against evil, perhaps to be associated with the Ottoman Empire, which was generally considered an oppressor of Christians (see Text III.I, verses 21–22):

The Just One and the Lover of the just ones, and hater of any oppressors,
Support by all righteousness the throne of the Pope of Rome!

It is known that ‘Abdīšō’s predecessor Yōhannān Sullāqā himself complained about such oppression while staying in Rome.¹⁶ On the other hand, it could represent any rival of the Catholic Church, including Protestantism, which had emerged in the early 16th century.

Text and Translation III.1. Ode Dedicated to Paul IV by ‘Abdišō’ of Gazarta

Manuscript used:

– BNF Syr. 434, fol. 204^r–205^r

204^r 17
 1 2 3 4 5
 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036

16 Baskins, "Popes, patriarchs, and print," 417; Vosté, "Mar Iohannan Soulaqa," 214.

[illegible]

ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ.
 ܐܬܝܬܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ.
 ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ.

204^r

Again, an introduction, before the Gospels,

by Abūn Mār ‘Abdīšō²³

1 ALAPH: Oh, you who believe in one God, three Persons,
 Come to give praise to the Pope of Rome!

BETH: Son of God, who saved the heads of the families by His coming,
 Protect and save from all troubles the Pope of Rome!

5 GAMAL: Hero of the worlds, who is elevated sublime in the heights,
 Elevate and raise the horn²⁴ of the Pope of Rome!

DALATH: Judge of everything, who will judge all people,
 Be our solicitor through the prayer of the Pope of Rome!

HE: Envoy for us, by whom both worlds were pacified,

204^v

10 Pacify our disturbed motions by the rogation of the Pope of Rome!

WAW: Promise of the life that is promised to His friends,
 Accompany us to your promised place by the supplication of the Pope
 of Rome!

ZAYN: Victorious one, by whom the righteous defeat the treacherous
 evil,

Grant victory to Paul,²⁵ our king, the Pope of Rome!

15 ḤETH: Strength of the strong, strengthening the weak, helping the right,
 Strengthen and help in everything that is prosperous to the Pope of
 Rome!

ṬETH: Good one who authorized His beloved and chosen ones over his
 treasury,

Distribute your wealth by the hands of Your custodian, the Pope of
 Rome!

YODH: O overseer that oversees everything with love and mercy,

20 Oversee the fear of You by the rogation of the Pope of Rome!

KAPH: Just one and the Lover of the just ones, and hater of any oppress-
 ors,

Support with all righteousness the throne of the Pope of Rome!

23 Strozzi, *Synodalia Chaldaeorvm*: Again, a *turgāmā* before the Gospels, composed by Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ the Chaldean; in praise of the pope of Rome.

24 BNF Syr. 434: the name *Paul* is omitted, and some blank space is left.

25 Following Strozzi, *Synodalia Chaldaeorvm*.

LAMADH: Harbor of rest that consoles everyone who sets out for Your gate,

Let our great pastor, the Pope of Rome, be consoled in your harbor!

25 MIM: King who dwells in the heights and watches the depths of the abyss,

Watch with the eye of Your mercy the great pontiff, the Pope of Rome!

NUN: Light that shines in all the righteous and perfect,

Make Your light shine on the personal of the Pope of Rome!

SEMKATH: May hope and love and faith be propagated

205^r 30 In our soul through the petitions of the Pope of Rome!

‘E: Helper of all and assister of all the wretched,

Be our assistance through the intercession of the Pope of Rome!

PE: Savior of everyone, keep and save all the classes

Of our [human] kind from evil by the supplications of the Pope of Rome!

35 ŠADHE: Crucified one who was crucified instead of sinners and evildoers,

Attend our prayer by the prayers of the Pope of Rome!

QOPH: Holiest of all, who is sanctified by the sublime angels,

Sanctify our soul by the utmost sanctity of the Pope of Rome!

RESH: Exalted one who dwells in the heights of the height,²⁶ higher than everything,

40 Heighten our lowliness by the exaltation of the Pope of Rome!

SHIN: Glorious one, whose glory is manifested by angels and feeble people,

Accompany us, Lord, in glorification of the glory of the Pope of Rome!

TAW: Let thanksgiving, worship and glory ascend with exaltation

To He who has enriched and adorned (us) with all the triumphs of the Pope of Rome!

1.2 *Short Poems on Popes*

The short poems on popes ascribed to ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta seem to have had much wider circulation than the longer poem discussed in the previous section. They are present in at least three manuscripts that are used in the present study (see Text III.11).

The earliest and most important among the manuscripts that contain the poems under discussion is CCM 398 (formerly, Diyarbakir 95),²⁷ written in 1583.

26 Possibly, a play on words; the second meaning: “the heights of Rome”.

27 See Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Diarbékir,” 395. Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132517>.

It contains hundreds of short poems, most of which are ascribed to ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta, and is thus a key resource for studying his poetic legacy.

The other two manuscripts are much later: CCM 12 (Macomber 81.3), 1705–1719,²⁸ and CCM 402, 16th–17th centuries (?),²⁹ the first of which contains all the poems under discussion, while the second contains only the last one (see Text III.II, poem 4). The problem is that, in most manuscripts (like these two), such small works are placed either between larger ones or on flyleaves. They are thus usually not mentioned in cataloguing, so that to discover them, one needs to look completely through all relevant manuscripts. For this reason, I am unaware of the complete number of manuscripts containing them, though one can assume that they are likely present in many more copies than the three in which they have been discovered. Thus, it seems likely that, unlike the *tur-gāmā* on the pope discussed above, they were rather more popular.

It is quite interesting that CCM 12 was written by Catholics of the patriarchate of Diyarbakir (Amid) in the early 18th century, during the patriarchate of Yawsep I (d. 1707). Therefore, we have clearly-documented evidence that these poems were also distributed in this East Syriac patriarchate³⁰ (patriarchal line 3, according to Murre-van den Berg).

The poems in CCM 398 that are ascribed to ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta (see Text III.II, poems 1, 2, 3) can be attributed to him with great certainty, since this manuscript contains the oldest and most representative collection of his verses. Additionally, they are found in other, later manuscripts, where they are ascribed to the same author. The last poem (see Text III.II, poem 4) occurs only in the later manuscripts CCM 12 and CCM 402, making its attribution questionable.

Three of these short poems (see Text III.II, poems 1, 2, 4) are composed in twelve-syllable meter and have a common end-rhyme. Most of them consist of two syllable feet that are separated with a colon sign, so that each line has six of these feet. In two of the pieces that have six lines (see Text III.II, poems 1, 4), the text may be read vertically or horizontally, so that the sequence of the feet remains the same. Moreover, these two poems are designed in such a way that they may be read horizontally from top to bottom or bottom to top, and vertically from left to right or right to left without the sense of the text being lost. Thus, they represent a kind of palindrome. The first of them has the name of Pius written in red ink above each instance of the word ܡܫܚܐ, “pure” in CCM 12

28 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/132214>.

29 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/132521>.

30 Parker, Maxton, “Archiving faith,” 89, 98.

in such a way that the poetic meter remains correct. This addition seems to be written in the same hand as the main text (see Text III.II, poem 1).

Obviously, the piece is associated with the name of Pope Pius, to whom the poem may have been dedicated. Either Pius IV (1559–1565) or Pius V (1566–1572) might have been meant, given that the patriarchate of ‘Aḇdīšō’ IV overlapped with both pontificates. However, it is most likely Pius IV, who convened the Council of Trent in 1562, and whom the Syriac patriarch met in person.

It is worth mentioning that a few six-line palindrome poems of the same kind are written on the flyleaves of manuscript CCM 113 (fol. 122^v–123^r), dated 1553AD,³¹ where they are ascribed to Khāmīs, the famous East Syriac poet of the late 13th century (see above, Ch. 2).³² Thus, this poetic technique is also associated with the Syriac Renaissance.

The third poem (see Text III.II, poem 3) has a strophic structure that consists of three stanzas. Typically, late Syriac poems have four seven-syllable lines each. The poem is dedicated to a pope named Julius, as mentioned in the text (see Text III.II, poem 3, stanzas 1–2):

Oh, He who sits enthroned
At the right hand of God
In the place that is more elevated than the firmament,
Than angels or heads of principalities,

Preserve Pope Julius,
The *locum tenens* of Lord Peter,
Make him illustrious like Paul,
Or like the great Gregory.

Apparently, Julius III (1550–1555) is meant, whose pontificate coincided with the very beginning of the new Chaldean Church, the visit of Yōḥannān Sullāqā to Rome, the death of the latter, and the ascent of ‘Aḇdīšō’ IV to the patriarchate.

It is quite possible that ‘Aḇdīšō’ would address a panegyric to each new pope when he ascended to the pontificate. This seems very likely, given the important role of poetry in Syriac literature of the period, in particular that of short poems.

31 Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Diarbékir,” 354; Pritula, “One More Unknown Khāmīs’ Ode,” 189–190.

32 On this poet, see Mengozzi, “Persische Lyrik in syrischem Gewand”; Mengozzi, “The Book of Khāmīs bar Qardaḥe,” 415–439; Mengozzi, “Quatrains on Love by Khāmīs bar Qardaḥe”; Taylor, “Your Sweet Saliva is the Living Wine.”

Two of the poems present the popes as descendants of the apostles Peter and Paul (see Text III.II, poem 3, stanza 3 and poem 4, lines 5–6), which is quite typical of the ecclesiastical concept of the Catholic Church.

Four more six-syllable poems of the same type—i.e. which can be read in all possible directions—are found in Syriac, with Latin translations in the same printed *Synodalia* edited by Pietro Strozzi in 1617.³³ They are not ascribed to ‘Abdišo’ of Gazarta, and neither do they occur in any manuscripts of his works known to me. So there is no reason to attribute them to him. The third one, the only one of them mentioning the name of a pope, namely Paul, could refer to Paul v (1605–1621), rather than to Paul iv (1555–1559), in which case it could be a text contemporary to the early 17th century composition of Strozzi’s book. The other three six-syllable poems could also be later productions. It is not strange for poems of such type to appear later for different occasions and mentioning new popes. A number of anonymous poems of this type are found in various manuscripts, and thus one may say that the works by ‘Abdišo’ of Gazarta discussed and published here have formed a poetic canon for later generations of the Chaldean Church.

Text and Translation III.II. Short Poems on Popes by ‘Abdišo’ of Gazarta

$$[1]$$

Manuscripts used:

- A: CCM 398, fol. 258^v (base manuscript)
- B: CCM 12, fol. 291^v–292^r

[illegible]

33 Strozzi, *Synodalia Chaldaeorvm*, 58.

34 **هَلْ أَتَىكَ مِنْ هَٰذَا مِيقَاتٌ أَمْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَكَ مِيقَاتٌ فَأَنْتَ مِنَ الْغَافِلِينَ**

35 B—correction above the line in red ink in the same hand: **فِيهِ**

36 B—correction above the line in red ink, same hand: **فَهُوَ**

37 B: مذهب

38 B: مذم

On the Pope of Rome, on the same object; by the same one³⁹

Support, our Lord, the pure⁴⁰ Pope with your hidden power!
 Our Lord Jesus, the great sublime king,
 Guard the Pope, the glorious king, with your support, oh Lord!
 Pure,⁴¹ great, guard the right [and] glorious person
 With your high power, your right support, guard him, oh existing one,
 concealed, sublime, Lord, the glorious [and] alive!

[2]

Manuscripts used:

- A: CCM 398, fol. 258^v (base manuscript)
- B: CCM 12, Macomber 81.3, fol. 292^r

ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ
 ܫܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܥܡܡܐ: ܬܕܬܗܒ: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ:
 ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ: ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ:
 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ:
 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ:

Look from the sky, Son of the creator, firm in the foundation,
 And support the pastor, vigilant and true, the Pope of Rome,⁴³
 Noble, pure, celibate, splendid, humble, chaste!
 Guard the great, elevated throne of Simon Kepha!⁴⁴

[3]

Manuscripts used:

- A: CCM 398, fol. 259^r (base manuscript)
- B: CCM 12, fol. 292^r

39 B: And these verses are read [both] upward and downward; by ‘Abdišō’ of Gazarta.

40 B: correction above the line in red ink, same hand: Pius.

41 B—correction above the line in red ink, same hand: Pius.

42 B—correction above the line in red ink, same hand: ܡܠܟܐ

43 B—correction above the line in red ink, same hand: Pius.

44 Aramaic for “stone”; i.e. an original Aramaic version of the Apostle Peter’s name (see Jn 1:42).

ܬܫܬܐ ܕܢܬܬܐ 45

1 ܐܘ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ: ܡܢ ܒܝܬܝܝܐ ܕܢܬܐܝܬܐ.
ܬܬܐ ܕܝܠܕ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ: ܡܢ ܬܬܐ ܕܡܬܬܐ ܕܢܬܐܝܬܐ ❖

2 ܬܬܐ ܕܠܦܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ: ܬܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܢܬܐܝܬܐ.
ܡܬܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ❖

3 ܡܬܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ.
ܡܬܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ❖

Arranged in quatrains

- 1 Oh, He who sits enthroned
At the right hand of God
In the place that is more elevated than the firmament,
Than angels or heads of principalities,
- 2 Preserve Pope Julius,⁴⁶
The *locum tenens* of Lord Peter,⁴⁷
Make him illustrious like Paul,
Or like the great Gregory.
- 3 And he will shine with his light like Elijah,
Among all the ranks of the Church clergy.
And he will graze his herd and people
according to Christ's will.

[4]

Manuscripts used:

- A: CCM 402, fol. 146^v (base manuscript)
- B: CCM 12, fol. 291^v

ܬܫܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ

ܬܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ:
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ܡܬܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ: ܡܬܬܐ:

45 B: ܬܫܬܐ ܕܢܬܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ

46 Apparently, Julius III (7 February 1550–29 March 1555).

47 I.e. of the Apostle Peter.

ܡܳܠܳܟܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ
 ܳܠܳܗܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ
 ܳܠܳܗܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ ܳܠܳܗܳܐ

Another, by the same one⁴⁸

Support, Lord, with Your glory the throne of Pope Pius,
 Lord, help, illuminate our magnificent and holy Father!
 With your glory, illuminate, perfect and lead the head of the people.
 Settle the throne of our father, lead and approve the holy pastor,
 Magnificent Pope, head pastor like Peter,
 Saint Pius of holy Leo,⁴⁹ Peter, Paul!

2 Poems by ‘Abdišō’ on Contemporary Poets: The Gazarta Literary Circle

2.1 *Monastic Poetry Collection (CCM 398): Characteristics and Significance*

In the present section of the study, we will attempt, based on various unpublished verse texts, to define some features of the literary life of the poetic circle that existed in the Western dioceses of the East Syriac Church, and seems to have influenced the further development of this tradition. Here, by these features we basically understand the communication of the *literati* and their relations.⁵⁰ The section will focus on two authors, who were apparently older contemporaries of ‘Abdišō’ of Gazarta, and might have been in poetic and personal communication with him, namely, Darwīš of Gazarta and Abrāhām of Bēt Slōk. Texts composed by them, as well as the ones mentioning them are helpful also as an important source on the biography of this outstanding author, in particular on the early period of his life, when his literary and Church career was in its very start.

Most of the texts discussed in the present section survive only in CCM 398 (see Figs. 9, 10). This amazing text collection is presently a subject of a special study by Heleen Murre-van den Berg, the leading expert in the literature of

48 I.e. by ‘Abdišō’ of Gazarta, since the previous several poems in this manuscript are ascribed to him.

49 Apparently, Pope Leo the Great (ca. 400–10 November 461) is meant.

50 For more detailed characteristics of the genre forms, for instance, see Pritula, “East Syriac Literary Life.”

the period.⁵¹ The manuscript that contains the poems under discussion, as well as many other verse texts, was written in 1583 in the cloister dedicated to Mār Yōhannān the Egyptian, as follows from the colophon (CCM 398, fol. 144^v). This might be a monastery located near Gazarta that was an important center of the Church culture in the 16th century, and was inhabited by monks until the 19th century, and during this period many manuscripts were copied there.⁵² As follows from the document written by ‘Abdīšō’ that was recently published, this monastery was his abode before his consecration.⁵³ Maybe, it is for that reason that the manuscript contains a unique anthology of his poems that are not found elsewhere.⁵⁴ This poetic anthology, possibly copied from ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta’s lost autograph (or autographs), contains hundreds of unstudied poems ascribed to this author, many of which refer to different persons he might have known, and places he possibly visited. Besides, a number of elsewhere unknown poetic texts by his contemporaries occur there. All these pieces illustrate the life of the Syriac literary circle of the 16th century.

2.2 *Darwīš of Gazarta—Priest, Poet, Scribe and ‘Abdīšō’s Uncle?*

Darwīš son of Ḥannā, son ‘Isā was a contemporary poet originating from Gazarta, like ‘Abdīšō’, of whose works at least one piece has survived. It is a *‘ōnītā* hymn on the Consecration of the Church⁵⁵ that in the initial line of the poem (see Text III.IV, stanza 1). The text also says that he had deaconship, and it is probably because of this position that the text alludes to bookkeeping as his duty (see Text III.IV, stanza 6,):

May your name be terrible to your enemies like that of Ares,
Be a skilled learned man and a head of all merchants, like Hermes.
Let your night be always shining without any eclipse,
Oh, our companion, deacon, my uncle, Gīwargīs!

Although it is not clear who the addressee of the poem was, it seems very likely the same poet and copyist Darwīš son of Ḥannā b. ‘Isā, of Gazarta. Obviously, the person meant in the text was a *literatus* as well, and since he was ‘Abdīšō’s relative, he might have been of Gazarta origin, like Darwīš son of Ḥannā is known to have been. The fact that apart from this name, that addressee of

51 See Pritula, “East Syriac Literary Life.”

52 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 109, 116.

53 See below in more detail; Farina, “A New Autograph by ‘Abdīšō’ Marūn,” 245–247.

54 See Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 322–326.

55 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 163, 330.

- 5 YODH: The sea of passions has overflowed me with its overflow, and we stayed shattered.
And so, grief, concern and despair are choking us.
Console us soon by a lucidly worded epistle,
oh, our rejoicer and entertainer, my uncle, Gīwargīs!
- 6 SHIN: May your name be terrible to your enemies like that of Ares,
Be a skilled learned man and a head of all merchants, like Hermes.
Let your night be always shining without any eclipse,
Oh, our companion, deacon, my uncle, Gīwargīs!

2.3 *Abrahām of Bēt Slōk (Slōkāyā)—Monastic Poet and ‘Abdīšō’s Spiritual Teacher*

Abrahām of Bēt Slōk (Slōkāyā), i.e. of Kirkuk (a city in Iraq, 238km north of Baghdad) belonged to the main spiritual authorities of the East Syriac Church of the 16th century. His liturgical and non-liturgical poems were copied in numerous manuscripts. Besides, his influence on ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta is notable, as follows from the latter’s own verses and manuscript autographs.

Abrahām Slōkāyā was a monk in the monastery of Mār Awgēn on the mount Izla near Nisibin, at the western border of the spread of the East Syriac Church, being active as a scribe and a poet in early 16th century.⁶² This cloister was an important center of spiritual education and manuscript production.⁶³ The Izla mount itself was famous for its numerous monasteries that were concentrated there since the 4th century.⁶⁴

According to Murre-van den Berg, Abrahām of Bēt Slōk is also reported as a composer of one of versions of the rites for the novices in the monasteries.⁶⁵ Another liturgical text, to which he may have contributed is the so called *Stanzas for the Service of Months* (ܐܬܝܢ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܚܕܝܬܐ),⁶⁶ which are discussed and published in a different section of the current study (see below, Chapter 4, Section 3.1; Text IV.II).

Abrahām is also known as a composer of one of the funeral *madrāšē* that is included in a text collection.⁶⁷ Apart from the above-mentioned pieces, there are some shorter poems that were never described or studied. However,

62 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 179.

63 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 45–47.

64 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 43.

65 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 148, footnote 14.

66 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 151, 236.

67 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 179.

they might have been popular to some extent, since they were included in 16th century poetic anthologies. One of them includes 52 quatrains by different authors, as well as anonymous ones, and one final ode (CCM 113).⁶⁸ The earliest of them, such Khāmīs bar Qardāḥē, and Bar ‘Ebrōyō were active in the second half of the 13th century and are utmost celebrated representatives of so-called Syriac Renaissance. The final ode is ascribed to Khāmīs bar Qardāḥē and addressed to Bar ‘Ebrōyō. It is well-known that they had poetic correspondence, as was typical for their time for both Islamic and Christian educated elite in the Near East. Apart from that, the collection contains a quatrain that is ascribed to this author, where he is called *Rabban* (literally: our lord) Aḇrāhām (fol. 118^v). The first epithet is normally used for monks, priests and abbots, and is well-known to have been applied to him. This short text is of some importance, since the manuscript was written in the monastery of Mār Awgēn, the abode of this *literatus*, in 1553,⁶⁹ when he might be still alive, or shortly after his death. Thus, this is most likely, the earliest surviving copy of his poem ever, apparently, collected by his pupils from the same monastery. That is obviously, how calling him the *Rabban* (literally: our lord, often without the proper name, quite usual for monastic authorities) might have appeared: first in use among his disciples, and then spread wider together with the popularity of his poetry. The quatrain may be reckoned to the group of pilgrim poetry, since the text clearly alludes to the way to Jerusalem (see Text III.V):

By Rabban Aḇrāhām

The universe is pleased that the winter is over, and the snow failed
The flowers sprout and blossom, and a shepherd has rejoiced and shorn
his sheep.
The kings are delighted and share the diadems from the treasury.
And the way to Jerusalem is glad, and the one that leads to Gaza.

It is well-known that such pilgrimages were very popular among the East Syriac Christians, at least since early Ottoman time, when a relative stability was established in the Near East.⁷⁰ An East Syriac monastery with a church of Virgin Mary (Mārt Maryam) in the Holy city was visited by numerous pilgrims that used to make their way from the Eastern provinces of the Empire, such

68 See Pritula, "One More Unknown Khāmīs' Ode."

69 Pritula, "One More Unknown Khāmīs' Ode," 190–191.

70 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 81.

as Iraq and South-East Anatolia.⁷¹ Their short poems relating about it appear as later additions in various manuscripts donated by them to the monastery library; these kind of poetry is discussed here in a separate section (see Ch. 6; Texts VI.1–VI.V). It is likely that the poet, Rabban Abrāhām visited Jerusalem himself, since this kind of activity seems to have become a common business in the Ottoman time. The final line of the poem obviously alludes that the route is open after the winter is over. Also could mean that visiting the Holy City was most popular in spring, especially to stay in the on the eve of the Lord's Resurrection feast and to be present at the festive service.⁷² The same line apparently mentions Gaza (Arabic غَزَّة), the city in Palestine, about 80 km away from Jerusalem. It should be also mentioned the poet used a rhyme *gaz/gāz* (ܓܙ/ܓܐܝܝܐ), having placed the homographs at the end of each line in a way the short and long vowels may be distinguished only due the vocalization and the context. This is very likely to have been done deliberately as playing with all possible homographs, to demonstrate poetic skills. Such a technic, or rather, a poetic figure is well-known in Islamic—Arabic and Persian—poetry (Arabic *tajnīs*),⁷³ from which it might have been borrowed by the Syriac authors of the late period. To follow this pattern, all the rhymed nouns stand in *Status Absolutus*, without the final postpositive article -ā, which is unusual, and even odd in some cases, for instance, for such words as *gazz(ā)*, of Persian origin.

On the whole, a number of short poems by Abrāhām of Bēt Slōk (“by Rabban”) occur in CCM 398 (see Fig. 9): 11 quatrains and a six-line poem, as shown in the following list:

1. [Quatrain]

By Rabban

Incipit: ܣܘܪ ܕܠܚܩܐ ܕܐܕܡܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583AD, fol. 255^v

2. [Quatrain; riddle]

By Rabban

Incipit: ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583AD, fol. 255^v

71 See S.P. Brock, “The Dialogue between the Two Thieves (Luke 23:39–41),” *The Harp* 20 (2006): 151–170.

72 Pritula, “‘Abdīšō‘ of Gāzartā, the First Literate of the Chaldean Church.”

73 See Shams ad-Din Mukhammad ibn Kays ar-Razi, *Svod pravil persidskoy poezii (al-Mu’dzham fi ma’ayir ash’ar al-’adzham)*. Ch. 11. O nauke rifny i kritiki poezii [Свод правил персидской поэзии (ал-Му’джам фи ма’айир аш’ар ал-’аджам)]. Ч. 11. О науке рифмы и критики поэзии], per. s persidsk., issled. i komment. N.Yu. Chalisovoy (M.: Vostochnaya literatura, 1977), 214–216.

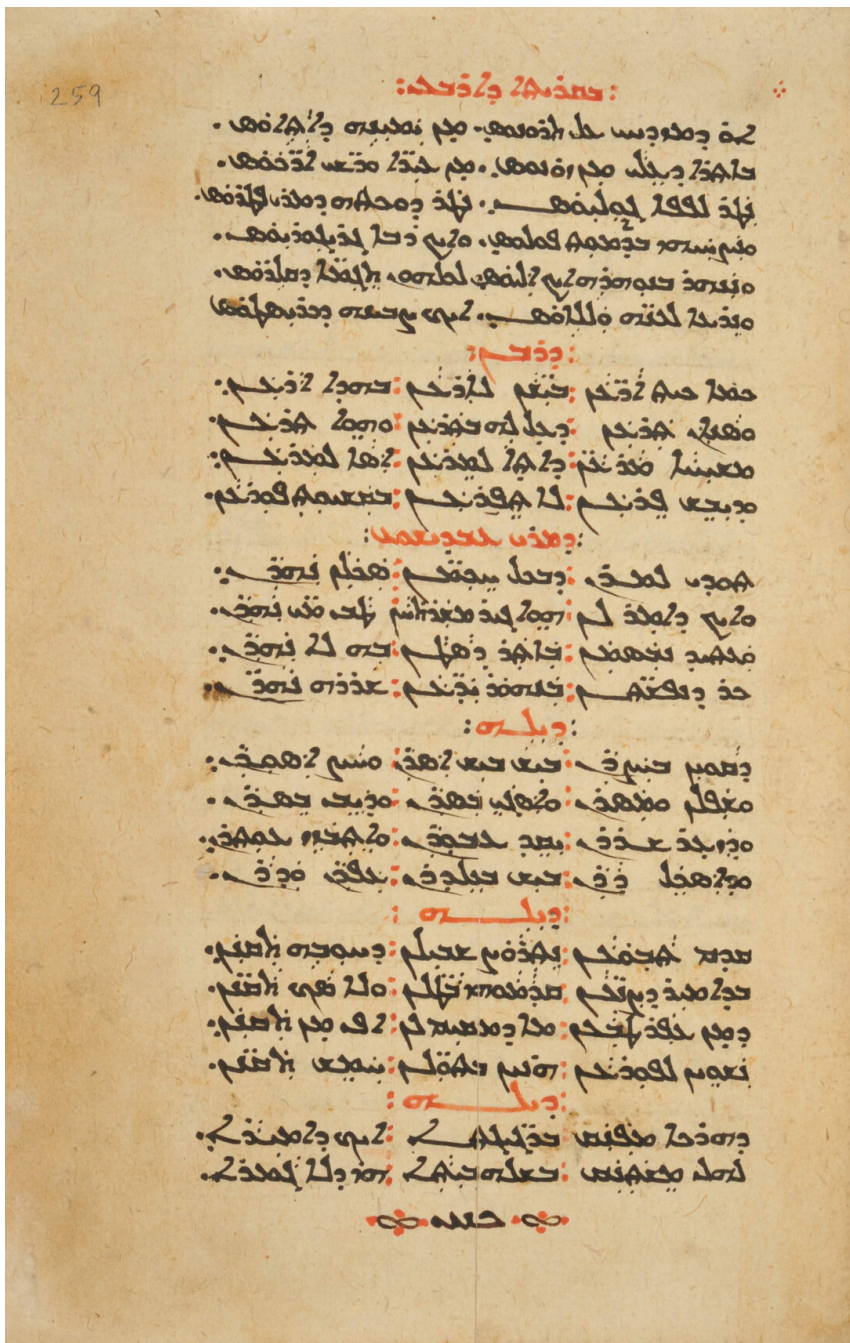


FIGURE 9 CCM 398; 1583, *Miscellanea*; Chaldean cathedral of Mardin; fol. 259^r, short poems by Rabban (Abrahām Slōkāyā) and 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta

3. [Quatrain]
By Rabban
Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ
4 lines, each divided into 3 sections
MSS: CCM 398, 1583AD, fol. 259^r
4. Stanzas of admonition
By Rabban Abrāhām Slōkāyā
Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ
MSS: CCM 398, 1583AD, fol. 260^v
5. [Quatrain]
By Rabban
Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ
MSS: CCM 398, 1583AD, fol. 261^r
6. [Quatrain]
By the same one
Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ
MSS: CCM 398, 1583AD, fol. 261^r
7. [Quatrain]
By the same one
Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ
CCM 398, 1583AD, fol. 261^r
8. [Quatrain]
By the same one
Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ
MSS: CCM 398, 1583AD, fol. 261^r
9. [Quatrain]
By Rabban
Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ
MSS: CCM 398, 1583AD, fol. 261^r
10. [Quatrain]
By Rabban
Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ
CCM 398, 1583AD, fol. 261^v
11. [Quatrain]
By Rabban
Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ
MSS: CCM 398, 1583AD, fol. 263^v
12. [Quatrain]
By the same one
Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ
MSS: CCM 398, 1583AD, fol. 263^v

They are ascribed to “Rabban” in the headings, so that the identification is quite certain. Apart from poetry, he collected the correspondence with the East Syriac bishops in India and wrote an introduction to it.⁷⁴ Thus, Aḇrāhām of Bēt Slōk was a type of East Syriac *literatus* of his time, which is characterized by a combination of spiritual position, ascetic authority, poetic and scribal work. Such a combination might be partially a result of the multiple centuries of the coexistence with the Islamic majority, for which such a combination was quite traditional since the emerging of the Sufi culture.⁷⁵ In all likelihood, he had an utmost authority among the contemporary educated clerics and prelates.

A few important poems occur only in the collection in CCM 398 (fol. 255^r; see Figs. 9, 10). They are most likely three independent quatrains on similar subjects in the manuscript grouped together with equal intervals. Were they stanzas of one strophic poem, the spaces in between would not be that large. In one of them the name *Rabban Brahīm* (ܪܒܒܢ ܒܪܗܝܡ) is mentioned that may be identified with Aḇrāhām of Bēt Slōk (see Text III.v, poem 2):

This stole was woven and also made
at an order of Rabban Brahīm, who ministers in all glory
Enthroned in the sacred altar of Mār Yōḥannān.
May the clement one make us worthy of forgiveness of debts though his
prayers.

The first vowel of the name is apparently omitted to fit the twelve-syllable meter used here, like in most Syriac quatrains. It also shows Arabic influence, rendering Ibrāhīm (إبراهيم), an Arabic version of the name.

Otherwise, this piece, or to be precise, similar pieces standing one after another, judging from the headings, were written by ‘Aḇdīšō’ of Gazarta. Although his name is not mentioned directly, and has the common “by the same one” (ܒܝܠܝܬܐ) the attribution must be clear, since the last author mentioned in a heading of a preceding poem before is ‘Aḇdīšō’ (fol. 251^v). Using such a construction is typical of the Syriac poetry collections, and is meant to avoid numerous repetitions of the same author’s name. Each piece was composed on an occasion of consecrating church utensils: priest’s belt (ܕܠܚܝܬܐ), stole (ܕܠܚܝܬܐ) and altar-cover (ܕܠܚܝܬܐ), respectively. Such a use of short verse texts, especially quatrains, demonstrates an extreme popularity of this poetic form

74 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 179, 254–255.

75 A. Pritula, “O Ringdove, where are you heading for? A Syriac Dialogue Poem of the Late 13th century,” in *Beiträge zum 8. Deutschen Syrologie-Symposium in Salzburg 2014* (Wien: LIT, 2016), 351–361.

and a custom to present them on various occasions, also the Church practice. They first appeared in the Syriac literature in the period of so-called Syriac Renaissance, and obviously spread even wider in the following centuries.⁷⁶

All three were probably composed for presenting in the monastery on the of Mār Awgēn,—as mentioned in the text (see Text III.V, poem 3)—where Rabban Aḇrāhām lived:

This stole was woven for the altar,
Which is the throne of the dweller of the inner sanctorum, inhabited by
the
Spirit, lord, Mār Awgēn, who is glorious and glorified in every place.
Let Lord Christ forgive our debts though his prayers.

The author of the verses might have been present at a church service there, at which, or, more likely, after which, each poem was presented. Although one cannot rule out that the second poem of this group was written for the church in the monastery of John (Yōḥannān) the Arab (see Text III.V, poem 2), since “sacred altar of Mār Yōḥannān” is mentioned there.

This monastery was located on the mountain Izla near the monastery of Mār Awgēn and might have had with the latter close contacts.⁷⁷

It is not entirely clear, though, whether the first text was composed for that monastery as well, since neither the abode’s nor the addressee’s names are mentioned there (see Text III.V, poem 1). But still, this seems to be very likely, since these poems are grouped together, and might have been kept in the same monastery before then. The first quatrain mentions that “the belt was woven in the year 1855 of Greece,” i.e. of the Seleucid era (see Text III.V, poem 1), which corresponds to 1543/4AD:

This belt was woven in the year 1855 of Greece,⁷⁸
Amazing and wonderful for the pious one and a priest,
Mār⁷⁹ so-and-so, who is illustrious and famous in any place and country.
May the Lord keep and enrich him with the richness of the soul and
body.

76 Pritula, “‘Aḇdīšō’ of Gāzartā, the First Literate of the Chaldean Church.”

77 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 43.

78 I.e. 1543/4AD.

79 I.e. lord.

This text doesn't tell us the name of the priest, who was supposed to wear it. Instead of the latter, the word **ܦܠܗ** (so and so) is used, which must be a later scribal change, as usual in the Syriac poetry.⁸⁰ The cleric meant was possibly serving in the same monastery, but we do not know, whether Rabban Aḇrāhām was still alive at that time, since he is not mentioned in this poem, but rather in the last one (see Text III.V, poem 3).

He could have invited the poet to his monastery for that service, but we don't know that for sure. In any case, the text gives us the dating of composing the poem, which is the earliest dated piece composed by 'Aḇdīšō' of Gazarta known to us, which is ten years before his ordination to a bishop by Sullāqā in 1553.⁸¹

One more poem by 'Aḇdīšō' of Gazarta mentions the name of Aḇrāhām Slōkāyā (see Text III.VI, Fig. 10). This is a mourning elegy on the death of the latter that reveals close relations of these two *literati* and Church actors. The poem has survived just in one copy, namely, as a part of the unique poetic anthology, being entitled: *Another one, by the same one, of consolatory character, composed on the decease of Rabban Aḇrāhām Slōkāyā* (CCM 398, fol. 252^r–253^r, see Text III.VI; Fig. 10). Nevertheless, it doesn't necessarily mean that it was not popular and didn't have a wide circulation.⁸² Many Syriac poems, especially short ones, survive just in one copy, which is nothing but consequence of a long process of the destruction of the manuscripts caused by numerous calamities in the period of the last thousand years.

The poem contains an alphabetic acrostic, and therefore has 22 stanzas,⁸³ each starting with a different letter. The stanzas consist of two twelve-syllable lines, each made of three four-line feet: 12 (4 + 4 + 4) + 12 (4 + 4 + 4). The rhyming is rather complex, where each foot has a rhyme at the end. Thus, each line has two internal rhymes that are individual for each one, and a common end-rhyme, general for the whole poem (= *ḥā*, for instance: **ܬܩܕܝܬ—ܬܩܕܝܬ**).

It is rather important that the text—a lamentation addressed to deceased person—is composed in 1st person plural, rather than in singular. Such a poetic method might mean that the author was intending to express the feeling of the whole grieved community, or his generation to which Aḇrāhām's death might have been a great loss. As follows from the text, the author considered the

80 For instance, see Pritula, "Zwei Gedichte des Ḥāmīs bar Qardāḥē," 325.

81 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 102.

82 In my opinion, a text with few surviving manuscripts may be coincidental, as many copies may have been destroyed. However, the existence of a large number of copies is an important indication of the popularity of a text.

83 Or, rather 23 stanzas, if one counts the introductory stanza as a strophe.

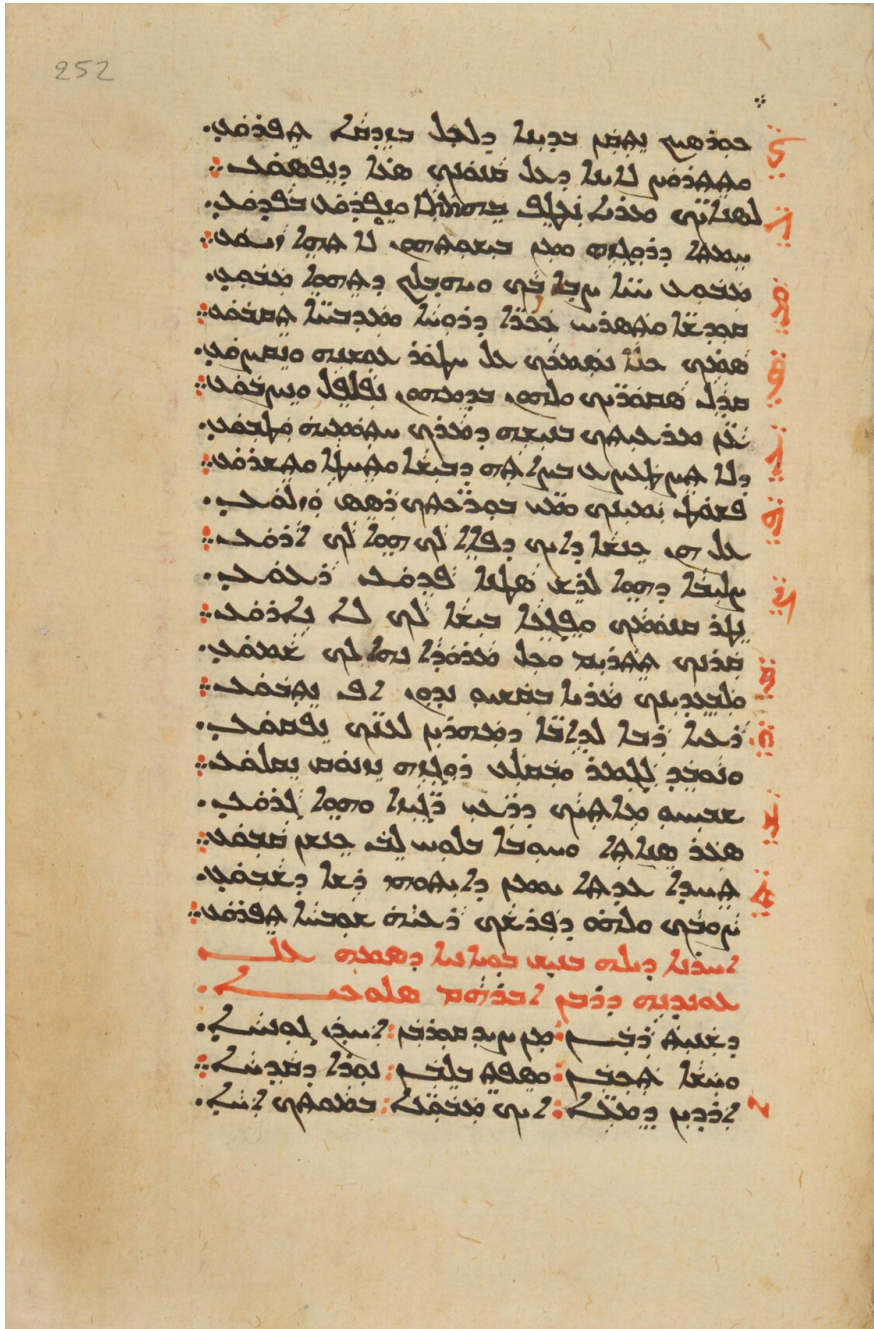


FIGURE 10 CCM 398; 1583, *Miscellanea*; Chaldean cathedral of Mardin; fol. 252^r, poem by ‘Abdišō’ of Gazarta on the death of Abrāhām Slōkāyā (beginning)

By the same one

This belt was woven in the year 1855 of Greece,⁸⁴
amazing and wonderful for the pious one and a priest,
Mār⁸⁵ so-and-so, who is illustrious and famous in any place and country.
May the Lord keep and enrich him with the richness of the soul and
body.

[2]

١. اَللّٰهُمَّ اِنِّىْ اَسْـَٔلُكَ بِرَحْمَتِكَ وَرَحْمَةِ رَّسُوْلِكَ
 وَبِحَبْلِ نَبِيِّكَ وَبِحَبْلِ رَحْمَتِكَ وَبِحَبْلِ
 رَحْمَةِ رَّسُوْلِكَ وَبِحَبْلِ رَحْمَتِكَ وَبِحَبْلِ
 رَحْمَةِ رَّسُوْلِكَ وَبِحَبْلِ رَحْمَتِكَ وَبِحَبْلِ

This stole was woven and made
at the order of Rabban Brahīm, who ministers in all glory
enthroned in the sacred altar of Mār Yōḥannān.
May the clement one make us worthy of forgiveness of debts though his
prayers.

[3]

[illegible]

By the same one

This stole was woven for the altar,
which is the throne of the dweller⁸⁶ of the inner sanctorum, inhabited
by the Spirit,
lord, Mār Awgēn, who is glorious and glorified in every place.
Let Lord Christ forgive our debts though his prayers.

84 I.e. 1543/4AD.

85 I.e. lord.

86 Or: “house, inhabitation,” if **بَيْتُ** is construct state of **بَيْتٌ** here.

252^r

Another one, by the same one, of consolatory character, composed on the decease of Rabban Aḇrāhām Slōkāyā

1 Terror captured us since Rabban departed from our closeness.
And suffering has weighed us down, and the perforating fire has burnt
in our heart.

252^v

2 ALAPH: The tears flow down, like streams, at your death, brother!
And horrors of the terrible death grasp us in any hour and moment.

3 BETH: With your demise, our lord, the mouth of our hurters has got
loose at us.
And our spirit is sobbing, and the horrible death has ended our life.

4 GAMAL: Time has deprived us of you glorious company.
And so, our eye looks to meet you, and desires you.

5 DALATH: Sufferings have disturbed us like the corrupt ones, and we started the way.
And the guards of our mind made us imprisoned among ashes.

6 HE: Our watchful mind without you, oh the noble one, has got cold
[even] in heat.
Since love to writing is like an ignorant one that is naked of [any] wit.

7 WAW: Sorrow has grieved us, since the crown of our head has turned
into dust.
And our soul has diminished, and our breath has weakened, and there is
no rest for it.

8 ZAYN: Long time has lessened our joys and increased our griefs,
since the horrible death has led the head of the cloisters⁸⁷ away from us.

9 HETH: Show us your place that we may come after you, oh the spirit of
the Spirit,
so that we would see your abode and your fragrant dwelling!

10 TETH: Death has oppressed us, and payed evil to us that is unmeasurable,

87 Usually, the term رَاسُ الْبَيْتِ (‘‘head of the cloister’’) designates an abbot of the monastery.

Having imprisoned the friend of the truth in a house where there is no light.

- 11 YODH: We are orphans, as you have departed from us, oh glorious father.

And so we are shipwrecked in the sea of our misery, disturbed and oppressed.

- 12 KAPH: Our concern has abounded, and our weeping has increased to abundance.

Our lament has become lasting, and the garment of our joy has got ragged.

- 13 LAMADH: The soul seeks your beautiful figure and much desires it. It watches your appointed place, asks for your beauty, to rest in it.

- 14 MIM: Who would then show your shining, glittering beauty that instructs us, refresh and make us rejoice with your desirable company?

- 15 NUN: Our soul has pined away and has become powerless because of desiring you,
253^r since it has wished and desired to fly to your presence.

- 16 SEMKATH: Turn to your students as you used to, and be our guest! And take off the suffering of your beloved by your communication and joyful talk!

- 17 ‘E: Our grief has strengthened, our force weakened, and our voice gave moaning speech about you, our leader, and worker of the truth.

- 18 PE: Separation from you has confused our mind and pierced it as with spear.
What is left after you, the one who touched the depth of any manuscript?⁸⁸

However, it is used here in the plural (“head of cloisters”) as a trope that emphasizes the importance and significance of the deceased person in monastic circles.

88 Apparently, a metaphor that plays with the literal volume of a book, and the depth of knowledge that reaches one who has read it.

- 19 ŞADHE: Show us your beautiful image in sleep, like in reality,
 So that our being that is dead from sorrow comes to life again.
- 20 QOPH: Commemoration and memory of you is set in the board of the
 hearts
 of the lovers of your company, your companions, oh the glorious one!
- 21 RESH: May the sublime one, who sent an angel that lead your soul to the
 procession,⁸⁹
 settle him in a place, where his⁹⁰ happiness never ceases.
- 22 SHIN: His rule is glorious, and glorification of His dispensation is suit-
 able,
 since He exalts the sons of His way with His praised doxology.
- 23 TAW: Thanks be to our Lord, who refreshes our clod, rotten and turned
 to dust!
 And may He infuse our ashes into the burning furnace and dress in
 glory!

89 Apparently, a motion of angels accompanying a human soul during its departure from the body.

90 Most likely, that of the deceased person.

Liturgical Poems by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

1 Liturgical Poems by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta: Main Forms and Types

As can be seen from Chapter 1, Section 2.2 above and the list of poems ascribed to ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta (Appendix 1, 3–6, 9–10), liturgical poetry occupies a substantial part of his legacy. As a prelate, it is likely he considered it one of his tasks to expand the corpus of poetic texts intended for liturgical use.

Some of these texts belong to traditional forms of Syriac hymnography, such as the *‘ōnītā* and *turgāmā* (see Appendix 1, 3–6), and some are lesser poetic forms, such as ecclesiastical prayers written in poetic form (see Appendix 1, 9–10). Previously, such texts were usually written in prose; their rendering in poetry is clearly a newer phenomenon, reflecting the increasing penetration of poetry into the Syriac church tradition.

In this chapter, texts belonging to both subgroups will be examined and published for the first time. In particular, Section 2 deals with the hymns by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta dedicated to Mār Qūryāqōs, comprising two *‘ōnyātā* (see Sections 2.2–4.2 below) and one *turgāmā* (Section 2.4, Text IV.1).

On the other hand, Section 3 is devoted to poetic ecclesiastical prayers, in the composition of which ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta took part. Among them are poetic canons of ordination (see Section 3.1), as well as a popular cycle of the *Service of Months* of the year (see Section 3.2).

As for the hymnographic forms used by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta, they can be briefly described as follows.¹ Among the hymns that he composed there are several of the *‘ōnītā* form (pl. *‘ōnyātā*) (see Sections 2.2 and 2.3 below; Appendix 1, 6). Most of the hymns of this type are included in the *Wardā* collection, intended to be sung throughout the church year.² They also occur in the corresponding section of the *Book of Khāmīs*.³ Thus, the bulk of them were probably composed during the Syriac Renaissance, in the 13th–14th centuries.

‘ōnyātā are strophic poems whose stanzas were sung alternately by two choirs. The rhythmic meter of such poems varies, and there are several patterns. The majority of these hymns were meant to be chanted at the ܐܢܬܝܬܐ

1 All East Syriac liturgical poetic forms extant in that period have been briefly described and discussed by Murre-van den Berg; see Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 143–181.

2 See Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*.

3 Mengozzi, “The Book of Khāmīs bar Qardaḥē,” 415–439.

ܕܠܝܠܬܐ (night service), celebrated on the eve of a feast or commemoration, at one of the two ܡܘܬܒܐ (sg. ܡܘܬܒܐ; *mawṭbā*)⁴ that make up an important hymnological part of the service.

Some of the *ʿōnyātā* were composed for the Eucharistic service (*qurbānā*), but this is always indicated in the manuscripts of the *Wardā* collection. Such hymns explain the Gospel reading and are performed immediately after the Gospel is read. Thus, they are quite different in content to the hymns addressed in this publication.⁵ The hymns performed at the *mawṭbē* of the night service indicate when they should be chanted, namely after one of the priest's three exclamations that are given at this service. These are designated before each hymn as ܡܠܬܐ, ܡܠܬܐ, or ܡܠܬܐ. These abridged designations are well-known to clerics of the East Syriac Church. A very detailed study in the liturgical usage of the *ʿōnyātā* in the *Wardā* collection has been prepared by Dahlia Khay Azeez, a scholar with expertise in East Syriac church manuscripts, as well as a singer and reader in the Baghdad cathedral of the Ancient Church of the East.⁶

The poetic form called *turgāmā* ("explanation, commentary") was meant for liturgical purposes. It is usually a short, non-strophic poem composed in twelve-syllable meter, as a monorhyme and often accompanied by an alphabetic acrostic. The *turgāmā* was chanted by a deacon at the Sunday liturgy before the Gospel reading and was intended to prepare the believers for that reading, offering emotional and theological context for it (see below, Section 2.4).⁷

Just as with other kinds of East Syriac liturgical poetry (like *ʿōnītā* and *ḥuṭ-ṭāmā* hymns), *turgāmē* were used on various occasions at different points in the liturgy.⁸ Like most of the above-mentioned liturgical poetry collections, the "Book of the *Turgāmē*" is believed to have been developed in the period of

4 The *mawṭbā* is a part of the night service sung while sitting down, during which both Psalms and hymns are recited.

5 See Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 84–85, 87–88.

6 D. Khay Azeez, "The Connection between the Collection of *Wardā* and the Lectionary System," *Biblia Arabica: Tests and Studies* (forthcoming).

7 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 172–173. See also A. Mengozzi, D. Pastore, "The Late East-Syriac Genre of the *Turgāmā*: Forms, Function, Vitality in the Liturgy," *XB* 8 [XIV] (2017): 171–187. Mengozzi and Pastore discuss this particular East Syriac poetic form and its liturgical context. In the modern Church of the East, *turgāmē* are sung in various ways, including by the whole congregation, alternating choirs or a deacon alternating with the congregation or a choir.

8 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 159–181; on the features of the *ʿōnītā* form, see Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*.

the Syriac Renaissance. As Murre-van den Berg has shown, it is usually a non-strophic monorhyme poem with dodecasyllabic lines, commonly starting with the words ܐܘ ܐܘܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܡܝܢܝܢ “Oh those who believe”⁹

In the earlier manuscripts, the book’s core is formed of *turgāmē* attributed to ‘AḔdīšō’ bar Brīkā and Khāmīs bar Qardāḥē, the two outstanding East Syriac authors of the period.¹⁰ *Turgāmē* were also composed by Khāmīs and now comprise one of the sections in his book, containing 22 pieces in total. This was discovered by Alessandro Mengozzi,¹¹ who has studied the role of Khāmīs in the formation of this poetic form¹² and has also listed the two pieces that were later added to the standard version of the book, represented in manuscripts and the printed edition. These two outstanding poets seem to have contributed the metrical and poetic standards for all of this genre. Later contributors who extended the *turgāmā* collection followed ‘AḔdīšō’ bar Brīkā and Khāmīs.¹³ Among them are such famous poets as Israel of Alqosh (active between 1575 and 1630), who composed a *turgāmā* on the apostle Thomas, and ‘AḔdīšō’ of Gazarta, whose most popular piece is the *turgāmā* on Mār Qūryāqōs (see below, Section 2.4; Text IV.1).¹⁴ Another extant *turgāmā* by the Chaldean Patriarch is devoted to the Pope of Rome and has already been discussed above, in Chapter 3, Section 1.1; Text III.1.

As for the *ḥuṭṭāmā* (pl. *ḥuṭṭāmē*) form, a few examples of which were also composed by ‘AḔdīšō’ of Gazarta (see Attachment, section 6), they are usually read by a priest at the end of a Sunday or week-day service, after the prayers of absolution.¹⁵ This use is also clear from the name *ḥuṭṭāmā*, meaning “closing, sealing” in Syriac. From the standpoint of poetic features, these poems are similar to the *turgāmā* in many respects. They are written in seven- or twelve-syllable meter, have a non-strophic structure with monorhyme and often include an alphabetic acrostic.

9 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 173–174.

10 See, for instance, the manuscripts in the vHMLL digital collection. In the printed edition of the corpus, the piece in question occurs, but the bulk of the book is still formed by the aforementioned authors from the Syriac Renaissance (see *Kṭābā d-turgāmē w-rušmā d-ṭeksā da-mšammšānē*). The most detailed essay on this poetic form and its liturgical context can be found in Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 172–176.

11 Mengozzi, Pastore, “The Late East-Syriac Genre of the Turgāmā,” 172.

12 See Mengozzi, Pastore, “The Late East-Syriac Genre of the Turgāmā,” 171–186 (here: 172–179).

13 Mengozzi, Pastore, “The Late East-Syriac Genre of the Turgāmā,” 172–173.

14 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 173, 175.

15 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 168–172.

2 Poems on Mār Qūryāqōs

2.1 Overview

Among the extant liturgical poems attributed to ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta, there are three hymns dedicated to Mār Qūryāqōs (the martyr Cyriacus): two of the *ʿonītā* type, although significantly expanded, and one in the form of a *turgāmā*. These poems deal with the life of this early Christian martyr of the Roman period and contain descriptions of his torment, to varying degrees. Qūryāqōs was popular in Eastern Christian communities.¹⁶ We know of no works by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta about any other saints. For this reason, the analysis of these works will undoubtedly be of interest to scholars of Syriac literature. It is also important to establish the influences behind these hymns.

The poems in question have never been critically edited, nor have they been subject of special studies. All three are included in the checklist of texts by Heleen Murre-van den Berg, among those ascribed to ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta¹⁷ and the *turgāmā* is discussed in the corresponding section of her monograph.¹⁸ These three poems are discussed here, along with an edition and translation of the *turgāmā*, based on the extant manuscripts (see Section 2.4 below; Text IV.I; on this poetic form, see Section 1 above).

As is typical of hymns for holy days, both *ʿonyātā* in question were meant to be chanted at the ܕܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ (night service), celebrated on the eve of a feast or commemoration, probably each at one of the two ܡܘܬܒܐ (sg. ܡܘܬܒܐ; *mawtbā*) (see Section 1 above). The *turgāmā* is performed at the ܡܘܬܒܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ (Eucharistic service), on the morning of the feast day itself. Thus, the poet has created a small hymnological corpus for all the services connected with the commemoration of Mār Qūryāqōs.

16 His rich dossier exists in various languages: A. Dillmann, “Über die apokryphen Märtyrergeschichten des Cyriacus mit Julitta und des Georgius,” in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1887), 339–356; G. van Hoof, “Sanctorum Cyrici et Julittae acta Græca sincera, nunc primum edita,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 1 (1882): 192–207; E.M. Huselman, “The Martyrdom of Cyriacus and Julitta in Coptic,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 4 (1965): 79–86; N. Sims-Williams, “A Sogdian Fragment of the Martyrdom of Cyriacus and Julitta,” in *More modoque: Die Wurzeln der europäischen Kultur und deren Rezeption im Orient und Okzident. Festschrift für Miklós Maróth zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, eds. P. Fodor, G. Mayer, M. Monostori, K. Szovák and L. Takács (Budapest: Forschungszentrum für Humanwissenschaften der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013), 235–239.

17 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 323–324.

18 See Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 172–176.

In addition to these three hymns by 'Abdīšō' dedicated to Qūryāqōs, others are known, which are not attributed to 'Abdīšō'. In particular, Ms Orient. Fol. 619 of the *Wardā* hymnological collection of the National Library in Berlin contains, in addition to the three by 'Abdīšō', two more anonymous 'ōnyātā, as indicated by their headings.¹⁹ Altogether, they form a special block in the manuscript containing the 'ōnyātā for the commemoration of Mār Qūryāqōs (Ms. Orient. Fol. 619, fol. 180^r–196^v), followed by the *turgāmā* in question.

Within this block, the anonymous 'ōnyātā precede the three poems attributed to 'Abdīšō', which begin with a heading mentioning the author's name. The two anonymous hymns are the following:

- 1) Incipit: ܡܠܚܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܚܡܐ (Ms. Orient. Fol. 619, fol. 180^r–181^r)
- 2) Incipit: ܡܠܚܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܚܡܐ (Ms. Orient. Fol. 619, fol. 181^r–181^v)

In terms of poetic features, the two anonymous hymns differ from the two hymns ascribed to 'Abdīšō'. The former are much shorter and closer in size to the traditional 'ōnyātā found in hymnbooks. Therefore, we may assume that they were composed at an earlier period, or at least follow earlier models than 'Abdīšō's hymns. Ms Orient. Fol. 619, representing a specific recension of the *Wardā*, witnesses serious discrepancies from the main version of the *Wardā*, both in the combination of the texts therein and in the absence of a supplement containing additional hymns. The 'ōnyātā that occur in the supplement in other manuscripts of the *Wardā* are placed in the main body in this recension.²⁰ However, the first of the two anonymous hymns occurs also in the manuscripts of the main redaction of the *Wardā*, for instance, in Vat. Syr. 567 (fol. 261^v–263^r), where it is placed in the aforementioned supplemental addition.²¹ These facts indicate that this first anonymous hymn was written later than the main corpus and was included in the collection after the formation of the latter.

The two 'ōnyātā attributed to 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta are primarily transmitted in poetry collections; apart from Ms Orient. Fol. 619, they do not occur in the *Wardā* book. This may indicate that they were composed even later than the anonymous hymns on Qūryāqōs. Both hymns by 'Abdīšō' reflect a stage in the development of East Syriac literature when 'ōnyātā had evolved into more monumental works, often occupying both sides of ten or more folios.

19 See Sachau, *Verzeichniss der syrischen Handschriften*, 244–250, no. 65. These hymns, whose titles do not identify the author, are immediately followed by hymns entitled "Hymns composed by 'Abdīšō' of Gāzartā." This leads us to the conclusion that the preceding hymns are anonymous and not composed by 'Abdīšō'.

20 I have discussed this recension of the hymnological collection elsewhere: Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 12–14.

21 See Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 81, 86.

Typically, poems by Syriac authors of the Ottoman period clearly follow literary patterns from the Syriac Renaissance. In the case of *ʿōnyātā*, two extensive hymns can be mentioned: one attributed to Khāmīs bar Qardāḥē, on the martyr ʾĪšōʿsābran,²² and the other to Gaḅriēl of Mosul, nicknamed Qamṣā (“locust”), on the monastic life.²³ While the literary legacy of Khāmīs has been studied in detail by Alessandro Mengozzi,²⁴ the work of Gaḅriēl still needs further research. The aforementioned authors worked at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, a period that was particularly productive in the formation of a new style of Syriac ecclesiastical poetry.

In terms of content, the hymns considered here reflect an important phenomenon in East Syriac hymnography and poetry in general, when (presumably in the 15th century) authors began to set forth in poetic form the lives and various other narratives of numerous saints. Eventually, introducing hymns on these saints into the liturgy resulted in the emergence of a large variety of such texts. This includes the *ʿōnītā* by Ṣlibā Maṣṣūrī (early 16th century),²⁵ which gives a poetic account of the prose narrative about Nestorius²⁶ which often occurs in the *Wardā* collection in the section concerning the Commemoration of the Greek Doctors, as we have pointed out elsewhere.²⁷ A dozen of such hymns form the aforementioned supplement to the *Wardā* collection.²⁸ Two of them, on the Persian martyrs Tahmazgard and Jacob, were published by Heinrich Hilgenfeld²⁹ and later studied by Adam Carter-Bremmer McCollum, who came to the conclusion that both hymns were a poetic reformatting of already existing narratives.³⁰ One more *ʿōnītā* from the same supplement, on

22 See, for instance, manuscript CCM 00419, 1395, fol. 67^v–73^v. Available online at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/132538>.

23 See, for instance, manuscript CCM 00419, fol. 34^r–67^v.

24 For instance, see Mengozzi, “The Book of Khāmīs bar Qardaḥē,” 415–439; Mengozzi, “Per-sische Lyrik in syrischem Gewand,” 155–176; Mengozzi, “Quatrains on Love by Khamis bar Qardaḥē,” 331–344.

25 See F. Nau, “Histoire de Nestorius d’après la lettre à Cosme et l’hymne de Sliba de Man-sourya sur les Docteurs Grecs,” *PO* 13.2 (63) (1917): 287–316.

26 Nau, “Histoire de Nestorius,” 288.

27 Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 72, 96.

28 Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 77–81.

29 See H. Hilgenfeld, *Ausgewählte Gesänge des Giwargis Warda von Arbel. Herausgegeben mit Übersetzung, Einleitung und Erklärung* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1904), 74–86.

30 A.C. Bremer-McCollum, “Prose, Poetry, and Hagiography: The Martyrdoms of Jacob the Persian and Tahmizgard in Syriac Story and Song,” in *Syriac Hagiography: Texts and Beyond*, ed. S. Minov, F. Ruani (TSEC 20; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2021), 221–256 (here: 231, 246). I have registered these two hymns in my study on the *Wardā* collection as numbers 84 and 85, respectively.

Mār Awgēn and his monastic community, was recently critically studied, edited and translated by Andrew Palmer and me.³¹

The most extensive poetic account of the life of Mār Hōrmīzd, the founder of an eponymous monastery in Alqosh, was undertaken by Sargīs bar Waḥlē, an author who lived in the 15th–16th centuries.³² Sargīs, who was a monk in the monastery of Mār Hōrmīzd, is considered one of the founders of the Alqosh School of Poetry.³³ The poetic circle of this town, including later poetry in Neo Aramaic, has been thoroughly studied by Alessandro Mengozzi, the leading expert in late Syriac poetry.³⁴ The extended poem by Sargīs bar Waḥlē is written in the form of a metrical homily and was apparently meant to be read, not sung, at the monastery service in commemoration of the saint, if it was used in the liturgy at all. The poem consists of 22 chapters called *tar'ē* (stanzas), each of which are monorhyme. As shown by Budge, Sargīs used a prose life of Hōrmīzd.³⁵ Nevertheless, by that time at least two shorter *ʿōnyātā* commemorating this saint might have existed. They are included in the standard supplement of the *Wardā* hymnological collection, as we have indicated elsewhere.³⁶ In a note written in 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta's hand in his autograph manuscript SMMJ 116, the poet listed the books (i.e. manuscripts) he owned or acquired (see rear flyleaf ii^v). One of the titles mentioned there is *ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܪܒܒܐܢ ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕ* ("Book of homilies on Rabban Hōrmīzd"), which might be the aforementioned monumental poem by Sargīs bar Waḥlē.

Since it appears in 'Abdīšō's list as a separate book (see No. 7 in the list), it is presumably not referring to the two shorter hymns about this saint from the *Wardā* collection. Its inclusion in the list is an indication that 'Abdīšō' was familiar with this poet, who may have lived a few decades earlier; the work probably influenced his own poetry. This is also confirmed by the fact that the poem on Mār Hōrmīzd by Sargīs occurs in the anthology CCM 398 (fol. 78^v–

31 See A. Palmer, A. Pritula, "From the Nile Delta to Mount Izlā and the Tigris Gorge: A hymn by Giwargīs Wardā on Mār Awgēn's family of monks," in *Den Orient erforschen, mit Orthodoxen leben. Festschrift für Martin Tamcke zum Ende seiner aktiven Dienstzeit*, Hrsg. von E. Schlarb (Göttinger Orientforschungen, 1. Reihe: Syriaca 61. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021), 505–540.

32 Budge, *The Life of Rabban Hōrmīzd*; Budge, *The Histories of Rabban Hōrmīzd*.

33 R. Macuch, *Geschichte der spät- und neusyrischen Literatur* (Berlin; New York: W. de Gruyter, 1976), 35–36.

34 For instance, see Mengozzi, *Israel of Alqosh and Joseph of Telkepe*.

35 Budge, *The Life of Rabban Hōrmīzd*, v–vi.

36 See Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 80. The numbers according to my checklist are *suppl.* 9 and *suppl.* 10.

144^v),³⁷ written in 1583 at the monastery of John the Baptist near Gazarta, where ‘Abdīšō’ was a monk some time before. This manuscript is the most important source of ‘Abdīšō’s poetic legacy. Indeed, the poem by Sargīs bar Waḥlē was popular among the Gazarta ecclesiastical elite during the period in question.

The hymns by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta under consideration belong to this later stage of the *ōnītā* poetic form development and, as noted above, are not included in the *Wardā* collection, with the exception of a few manuscripts.

Since the texts considered here were meant to be used in the liturgy, it seems logical to look at changes in liturgical practice for the reasons behind the popularity of such hymns about saints. The commemoration of the saints, for which such hymns are usually needed, occur either on a fixed calendar date or on Fridays, since that was the day of the week for the memory of martyrs and confessors in the East Syriac Church.

In general, the regular use of hagiographical texts in the liturgy is an influence of the West Syriac (Syriac Orthodox) Church, where such texts gained popularity much earlier, occurring in manuscripts already in the 11th century, although not always in a poetic form.³⁸ Nevertheless, the further poetic development of such texts, for example, the introduction of stanzaic structure and choir singing, seems to be an East Syriac feature, since it is a general poetic tendency of that ecclesiastical tradition.

The history of the compilation of the services for the Friday saints’ commemorations is certainly beyond the scope of this work, but it would be correct to note that in the *Wardā* collection they were not intended as a regular weekly element. As Jean-Maurice Fiey argued in a special study, two groups of sources containing services to the saints can be distinguished: one from the 11th–13th centuries and the other from the 16th century. Many commemorations of saints, 57 in total, are of local character. Among them, the Friday commemorations count 51. After the liturgical reform conducted in Alqosh at the beginning of the 16th century, some of the commemoration services disappeared.³⁹ In all likelihood, the poems by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta in question represent this liturgical revision of the 16th century.

37 See Pritula, “East Syriac Literary Life,” 89–107 (here: 90).

38 See B. Varghese, *The Early History of the Syriac Liturgy: Growth, Adaptation and Inculturation*, Hrsg. M. Tamcke (Göttinger Orientforschungen, 1. Reihe: Syriaca 62; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021), 95–96.

39 See J.M. Fiey, “La Sanctoral Syrien Oriental d’après les évangélistes breviaires du XI au XIII siècles,” *OS* 8 (1963): 21–54 (here: 26).

Thus, for instance, the two *ōnyātā* on the martyrs Jacob and Tahmazgard in the *Wardā* book were meant for the Friday commemorations,⁴⁰ whereas the aforementioned anonymous hymn on Qūryāqōs was used for the saint's commemoration days on June 15 and November 25, as clearly indicated in the headings of all the hymns in the manuscripts of the *Wardā* collection.⁴¹

One question still remains: why did 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta compose several liturgical hymns specifically dedicated to Qūryāqōs? Apparently the poet decided to take an active part in the creation of the textual corpus for the commemoration of this saint. According to extant manuscripts, this saint's name must have been quite popular from the middle of the 16th century on, since many scribes had it. On the other hand, one should remember that East Syriac manuscript production recovered from a long decline during this period; thus, it is difficult for us to judge how things may have been beforehand. One of those who bore the martyr's name was the scribe who copied manuscript CCM 429 in 1571 in Amid, where the death of 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta is mentioned in the colophon (fol. 107^v–108^r).⁴² Additionally, Wilmshurst mentions 22 clerics named Qūryāqōs,⁴³ along with 27 churches and chapels with the name of this saint.⁴⁴

As will be shown below, all the poems of 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta analysed here, like the other poems on the lives of saints, are poetic reworkings of the corresponding prose narratives, in this case that concerning the martyrdom of Qūryāqōs and his mother Yōlītā. The story takes place in the Roman Empire before the time of Constantine. Fleeing from anti-Christian persecution, Yōlītā moved to Tarsus from Iconium with her little son, but the local hegemon, named Alexander, started persecuting her and her son there. The main feature of the saint's biography is his young age, since he was martyred as a child. For that reason, there is very little information in the text on his life before his martyrdom. Therefore, the narrative is actually confined to the description of his tortures, along with the miracles manifested by the saint during the martyrdom.

In his multi-volume collection of the lives of saints published between 1890 and 1897, Paul Bedjan provided an edition of the text based on Berlin MS Sachau

40 Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 48.

41 Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 81.

42 See Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Diarbékir," 331–362, 385–431 (here: 359–360); Available online at: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132548>.

43 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 832.

44 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 761–762.

222, dated 1881.⁴⁵ More recently, Alisa Terpeliuk, under the scientific editorship of Nikolai Seleznyov, published an edition of a different recension of the text, as witnessed in MS Vat. Syr. 161,⁴⁶ datable to the 9th or 10th centuries on paleographic grounds.⁴⁷ A number of other manuscript witnesses are, however, extant, and so a new critical edition remains a desideratum.

2.2 Narrative *ʿŌnīā*

2.2.1 Transmission of the Text

The hymn under discussion has the incipit ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ (Ray of the eternal Father) and occurs in the following manuscripts:

- CCM 398, 1583, fol. 173^v–183^v
- Ms. Orient. Fol. 619, 1715 AD, fol. 186^v–195^v
- CPB 100, 1780, fol. 159^v–178^v⁴⁸

It is regularly ascribed to ʿAbdīšōʿ of Gazarta, which leaves no doubts about the authorship. Its earliest transmission is represented in CCM 398, which includes the largest selection of ʿAbdīšōʿs works, as mentioned above in section 2. All manuscripts indicate that it should be performed on the commemoration day of Mār Qūryāqōs. At the same time, in MS Orient. Fol. 619, the title of the entire block of hymns dedicated to this saint clearly indicates its date: Tammuz 15 (July 15).

2.2.2 Poetic Features

The hymn has a very complex poetic structure, being sung to the tune ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ (Armor of the Spirit ...), where each stanza consists of three lines following the scheme (4 + 7) – 7 – 7. This is a rather unusual rhythmic pattern, with only three lines in each stanza, the first one longer than the next two. The melody, albeit not the most popular, is used in several of the hymns included in the *Wardā* collection; nevertheless, it is likely that these pieces were composed by authors other than Gīwargīs Wardā himself, who composed the bulk of the corpus. Within the hymnological collection, the hymns with this tune are either

45 P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, 7 vols. (Paris; Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1890–1897, repr.: Hildesheim: Harrassowitz, 1968), vol. 3, 254–283; see Sachau, *Verzeichniss der syrischen Handschriften*, 290.

46 See A. Terpeliuk, *Istoriia muchenichestva Mar Quriaqusa i Iolity (Kirika I Iulitty)*, *kriticheskie tekst, perevod, issledovanie* (Moscow: Assiriiskaia Tserkov Vostoka, 2009); N.V. Pigulevskaia, *Katalog siryskikh rukopisey Leningrada* [Каталог сирийских рукописей Ленинграда] (PS 6.69; M.; L.: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1960), 144–146.

47 See Terpeliuk, *Istoriia muchenichestva*, 11–13.

48 Available online at: <https://w3id.org/vhmm1/readingRoom/view/503081>.

anonymous or ascribed to other authors.⁴⁹ Additionally, the tune was used by Khāmīs in his book of poetry, which includes a number of ʿōnyātā.⁵⁰

Each stanza has its own common rhyme, which links all of the lines, as is the normal case for an ʿōnītā.

The poem has a complex succession of sequential and intertwining acrostics, probably dictated by the difficult task of structuring a very long poetic text that takes up ten folios, both recto and verso (see CCM 398, fol. 172^v–182^v). At some point, an additional complete alphabetic acrostic is incorporated into the more general acrostic (see CCM 398, fol. 178^v–179^v). It is obviously one of the structural means—together with the refrain ܠܠܡܥܠܡ (peace be with you ...) that starts each stanza in the last part of the hymn—to distinguish the praise to the martyr that is a part of the larger final doxology. Each initial letter of a word that follows the refrain is part of this additional alphabetic acrostic, while the beginning of each stanza throughout the doxology uses a constant letter, which is šīn.

Also woven into the fabric of the poem are elements of dialogue poems, which are achieved by introducing several dialogues, such as that between the martyr and the hegemon, with the names of the speakers inscribed in the margin (see CCM 398, fol. 174^v–176^r). Thus, on the one hand, it is a reflection of the original prose version of the saint's life, which contains numerous disputes between these two characters, and on the other hand, it is one of the features of some ʿōnyātā which marks a further evolution of the disputation sōgītā form.

One may assume that the author has tried to use as many different poetic devices as possible to compensate for the bulkiness of the text and the “single-plane” nature of the narrative.

2.2.3 The Contents of the Poem

The hymn consists of three parts, with the main (and most lengthy) part being the account of the martyrdom of Qūryāqōs and his mother Yōlītā. Here we list the three parts, following the poetic narrative in question.

- A. *A brief prologue*, in which the author asks the martyr to guide him in writing a poem about him (CCM 398, fol. 172^v).
- B. *Narration about Qūryāqōs' martyrdom* (CCM 398, fol. 172^v–178^v).
The story starts with information about the martyr's childhood and his spiritual development in the true faith. His mother Yōlītā is mentioned as well, first preaching to heathens and defeating them. The hegemon

49 See Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 97–99.

50 Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 99.

named Alexander, led by a demon, forces the faithful to worship statues. He tortures them cruelly and calls a smith. The martyr overcomes his sufferings and exposes the hegemon and the heathens. The martyr instructs the smith in detail as to what instruments of torture to make and how to use them. The smith produces them and sends them to the hegemon. The latter begins to torture Qūryāqōs and his mother, but God saves them and the instruments cause them no harm, with the metal nails becoming cold as snow. Satan turns into a hawk and flies to the martyr to deceive him, but he is exposed and dissolves like smoke.

The hegemon lets the martyrs out of prison and asks them to worship his god, but God sends an angel to destroy the heathen statues. The hegemon continues torturing the martyrs, when a voice sounds from above and consoles Yōlītā, encouraging her to trust her son, who would become a great saint. The hegemon orders that their hair be torn out and their heads covered with coals, but these turn into golden crowns. The hegemon is even more outraged. He orders that a bench of copper and three spokes be made and nails the martyr with the spokes to the bench. Through the martyr's prayer, an angel takes the spokes out and beats them into the hegemon's neck. The hegemon addresses the martyr, pretending that he has believed in God. The martyr takes the spokes out of his neck. The hegemon continues torturing Qūryāqōs, having brought iron maces. His servant wants to hurt the martyr, but the mace collapses on his shoulder. The hegemon orders his servants to tie up the bodies of the martyrs, to bring saws and to cut them into three pieces. By God's will, no harm comes to them. The martyr advises the hegemon to make a saw out of wood. In anger, the hegemon orders oil to be heated and poured on the martyrs. God resurrects their bodies and commands them to go and rebuke the judge. The martyrs go to the hegemon's house and appear to him, but he does not recognize them. The martyrs tell him who they are. The hegemon is willing to believe in the truth of their God only if they perform a sign for him, by creating two animals out of his leather sandal.

By his prayer, the martyr creates a goat and a bull. The hegemon orders them to be slaughtered and a feast to be held. The martyr prays and feeds eleven thousand people with these two animals. The furious hegemon, encouraged by the demon, calls a physician and orders him to cut out the martyr's tongue. He carries out the order, but the Lord gives Qūryāqōs a spiritual tongue. They call a pig to tear out his tongue, but it immediately dies.

The enraged hegemon orders a cauldron to be brought and filled with oil; underneath, sulphur and firewood are set on fire. The flames rise to the

heavens and terrify the ten-thousand spectators gathered there by the hegemon. The martyr's mother is afraid and is ready to deny her faith. Qūryāqōs encourages her and prays to the Lord. His prayer is heard and the Lord strengthens Yōlītā's heart.

The martyr is thrown into the cauldron, but by the grace of God the boiling oil becomes as cold as snow. The stricken hegemon declares that this is witchcraft and that he will believe if it is demonstrated to him. Qūryāqōs sprays oil from the cauldron onto the ruler's hand and it is scalded, the skin falling off. The martyr prays and the hand is healed. However, pride and stubbornness prevent the hegemon's conversion.

The hegemon commands a narrow tunnel to be drilled in a huge rock and Qūryāqōs and Yōlītā to be walled up in it. An angel prevents this by splitting the rock, which falls and crushes the crowd of Gentiles.

C. *Epilogue* (CCM 398, fol. 178^v–182^v)

The final doxology consists of many stanzas and contains the following parts: 1. Praise to God and to the martyr Qūryāqōs (CCM 398, fol. 178^v–179^v); 2. Supplication to God, that he would protect and support the Church, the Patriarch, the Metropolitans and the author himself (CCM 398, fol. 179^v–182^v).

The end of the narrative is incorporated into the doxology, as part of the praise addressed to the martyr in the second person. Before having his head cut off with a sword, the martyr prays to God for help. The Lord accepts his prayer and answers that He will grant him all the gifts and graces of eternal life. This allows the poet to interrupt the rather monotonous lengthy narration of tortures and bring it to an end in the doxology.

In the study by Terpeliuk, the episodes in the narrative are compared according to the various versions of the narrative found in the manuscripts. For example, one of the indicators is the number of spokes hammered into the body of the martyr by the ruler's order, nailing him to the bench.⁵¹ The poetic text we are considering here refers to three spokes, which is consistent with the version of the hagiography found in the Bedjan edition, i.e. the Berlin manuscript, and the St. Petersburg manuscript, but differs from the Vatican manuscript, which only mentions two spokes (CCM 398, fol. 175^v).

One more significant feature concerns the names of the gods shouted out by the ruler of the town after the martyr has healed him. The list of these deities differs in different versions of the prose text. In the *ʿonīṭā*, the author omits this list altogether (CCM 398, fol. 175^v), probably considering it inappropriate for a

⁵¹ Terpeliuk, *Istoriia muchenichestva*, 23–24.

hymn to be sung in church. Nevertheless, two names from this chain appear in the *turgāmā*, which we examine below, allowing us to conclude that the poet here too follows the version of the text used by Bedjan, *Orient. Fol.* 619 (see below Section 2.4). Undoubtedly, despite the fact that the poet ‘Abdīšō’ clearly used this version of the hagiography, some discrepancies with the original are inevitable, due to the difference in genres. For example, the author omits certain details in the poem which he deems to be unsuitable for church poetry.

After the martyr’s miraculous feeding of eleven thousand people with the meat of animals created from the ruler’s sandal, the poem gives the number of leftovers from the meal: ten baskets from a goat and four from a bull (CCM 398, fol. 177^r). In this, ‘Abdīšō’ follows the version of the Berlin and St. Petersburg manuscripts as well, as apposed to the Vatican manuscript, which indicates sixteen and four baskets respectively.⁵²

The most disputable episode in the prose hagiography prototype is the so-called prayer of Qūryāqōs, which is actually a description of apocalyptic visions revealed to the martyr. There are different hypotheses about the origin of this part of the text. Some scholars have assumed that the passage is a translation from Greek, as evidenced by the presence of distorted forms of Greek origin, unusual for Syriac.⁵³ The circumstances and dating of its appearance in the hagiography of the saint are a separate problem.

It is premature to draw definitive conclusions about the prose text. A scholarly publication and comparative analysis of all existing versions of the text is necessary. However, the *ʿonītā* composed by ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta also contains important information which may be useful for the textual history of the prose prototype. The text of the poem does not contain the whole episode of apocalyptic character; it contains only a brief prayer addressed by the martyr to God, in other words, the prayer itself in the literal sense. Moreover, the scene of the apparition that usually precedes the apocalyptic visions to the martyr and his mother is also missing. All other episodes, especially major ones, are present in the hymn, although some minor details are missing. Thus, the poetic work mentions only one appearance of Satan to the martyr, at the very beginning of the narrative (CCM 398, fol. 274^r–274^v), when the martyr was in prison (see below), instead of the two appearances that usually occur in the prose versions. It seems strange for the poet to omit two important narrative episodes that fol-

52 See Terpeliuk, *Istoriia muchenichestva*, 26.

53 See, for instance, H. Greßmann, “Das Gebet des Kyriakos,” *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche* 20 (1921): 23–35 (here: 24). Close connections between this passage and the Apocalypse are nevertheless clear; see A. Mastrocine, *From Jewish Magic to Gnosticism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

low in succession: the second apparition of Satan and the apocalyptic visions following that. Therefore, it would be logical to suggest that the poet used the prose version, from which these episodes are missing. One may assume that in the time of ‘AḔdĪšŌ‘ of Gazarta a corresponding version of this narrative (which did not include these two elements) was in circulation. Or perhaps a version with these episodes and a version without them circulated in parallel at that time. It is possible, therefore, that these episodes are secondary in the martyr’s hagiography.

2.3 Eulogy ‘*Ōnītā*

2.3.1 Transmission of the Text

A second ‘*Ōnītā*’ on Mār Qūryāqōs ascribed to ‘AḔdĪšŌ‘ of Gazarta occurs in the following manuscripts:

- Ms. Orient. Fol. 619, 1715, fol. 182^v–186^v
- CPB 100, 1780, fol. 178^v–187^v⁵⁴

It is composed to the tune ܡܪܝܬܐ ܫܠܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܫܠܡܐ (Oh, He who is perfect in His substance!), and has the refrain ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܫܠܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܫܠܡܐ (Blessed are you, martyr-saint, the glorious Mār Qūryāqōs!), which is also the incipit.

In the rubrics of these manuscripts, the hymn in question is clearly attributed to ‘AḔdĪšŌ‘ of Gazarta, so there can be no doubt about his authorship.

2.3.2 Poetic Features

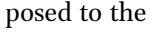
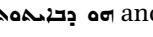
The poem is composed in seven-syllable meter and has a strophic structure with an alphabetic acrostic, where the number of stanzas corresponds to the number of letters in the Syriac alphabet (22). Each stanza is preceded by the above refrain, and the number of lines per stanza differs from letter to letter, ranging from twelve to six, as in the stanza on the letter *lamedh*.

In contrast to the ‘*Ōnītā*’ without a refrain discussed above, this ‘*Ōnītā*’ is not a narrative but a hymn of praise. These two main varieties of ‘*Ōnītā*’ in terms of content have been examined in detail in our study on the *Wardā* collection. In many respects, the first (narrative) type is a continuation of the poetic homily known as a *mēmṛā*, while the second type is a more direct continuation of the *maḏrāšā* form, that is, a festive hymn of praise.⁵⁵ In hymns of the second type, such as the one under consideration here, there is necessarily an acrostic structure and often a refrain, apparently dictated by the nature of the text, which is characterized by sublimity and emotionality.

54 Available online at: <https://w3id.org/vhmm1/readingRoom/view/503081>.

55 See Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 92, 108–109, 133–143.

There are many *ōnyātā* with refrains that praise the saints. In particular, some of these are included in the *Wardā* collection: on the apostles Peter and Paul,⁵⁶ on the Evangelists,⁵⁷ on the martyr Stephan,⁵⁸ and on the Greek Doctors.⁵⁹

A few *turgāmē* have the same poetic structure as the hymn in question, including one by Khāmīs bar Qardāhē on the martyr Īšō‘saḅran,⁶⁰ an anonymous one on the martyr Stephan (Eṣṭapānōs),⁶¹ and one by Īšō‘ya(h)b bar Mqaddam on the martyr Gīwargīs.⁶² Like the hymn discussed here, they are all composed to the tune  and have the refrain   . They are dedicated to various martyrs, showing that this pattern was specifically intended for the commemoration of this kind of saint; the name of the martyr is inserted in the refrain, while the rest of the hymn is constant for all hymns set to this tune.

Metrically, the refrain is a verse that consists of two seven-syllable lines. In cases where the martyr’s name has four syllables, the word *Mār* is omitted in the refrain, as in the cases of Īšō‘saḅran and Eṣṭapānōs. In two other hymns where the saint’s name is one syllable shorter, namely that on Qūryāqōs discussed here, and that on Gīwargīs, *Mār* is added before the name, according to metrical requirements.

The earliest of the hymns of this type is apparently the one by Khāmīs mentioned above; the others seem to follow it. Again, we are witnessing how the works of the Syriac Renaissance, and in particular the Mongol period, were treated as models for later poets.

2.3.3 The Contents of the Poem

Details of the saint’s biography are used in the text for the sake of praising him. However, they are referred to very selectively and mostly as allusions, as is common for such hymns. These allusions, of course, serve the main purpose of the

56 Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 67; hymn-number in our list: 16.

57 Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 68; hymn-numbers in our list: 17 and 18.

58 Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 68; hymn-number in our list: 19.

59 Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 68; hymn-number in our list: 20.

60 See, for instance, manuscript CCM 00419, 1395 AD, fol. 67^v–73^v. Available online at: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/132538>.

61 See, for instance, manuscript CPB 100, fol. 147^v–153^v.

62 See, for instance, manuscript CPB 100, fol. 153^v–159^f.

hymn: to highlight the saint's glorified exploits. The content of the hymn by stanza is as follows:

- ALAPH: Qūryāqōs' childhood and his spiritual development;
 BETH: The beginning of his preaching to and defeat of the pagans;
 GAMAL: Qūryāqōs' spiritual perfection;
 DALATH: More on Qūryāqōs' preaching to and defeat of the pagans;
 HE: Qūryāqōs' suffering, which he overcame with the help of the Holy Spirit;
 WAW: Heating up the iron spokes to hammer them into Qūryāqōs' body; the martyr's cooling of the heated spokes; his destruction of the heathen temples;
 ZAYN: Praising Qūryāqōs' preaching and God's help of him;
 ḤETH: Satan's apparition to Qūryāqōs and the martyr's victory over him;
 ṬETH: Praising Qūryāqōs' preaching and his denunciation of false doctrine;
 YODH: Qūryāqōs' comfort and encouragement towards his mother, citing the Scriptures;
 KAPH: Qūryāqōs tied down and sawn into parts, followed by Christ's resurrection of him;
 LAMEDH: Christ giving Qūryāqōs special capacities for preaching;
 MIM: The hegemon asking Qūryāqōs for a miracle; the martyr making food from the hegemon's sandal and feeding more than ten thousand people;
 NUN: A prayer to Qūryāqōs by the author;
 SEMKATH: Continuation of the prayer with some references to Qūryāqōs' biography;
 'E: Praising Qūryāqōs and the help he found from God, as well as the supernatural resilience of his body during his torture;
 PE: Qūryāqōs' sufferings and God's help, including being put in a stove;
 ṢADHE: Further praise of Qūryāqōs, along with reference to his preaching
 QOPH: Further praise of Qūryāqōs;
 RESH: Further praise of Qūryāqōs, mostly his preaching;
 SHIN: Further praise of Qūryāqōs, mostly his preaching;
 TAW: Further praise of Qūryāqōs;

The poem discussed here is absent even in the manuscript CCM 429 (formerly Diyarbakir 60) of the *Book of Turgāmē*, written in 1571 (shortly after the death of ‘AḔdīšō‘ of Gazarta) by a scribe who mentions the death of this patriarch in the colophon, showing that he was one of ‘AḔdīšō‘’s followers.⁶⁶ This confirms the assumption that this *turgāmā* became a part of the *Book of Turgāmē* only after the death of the author.

The textual discrepancies in this *turgāmā* mainly concern the rendering of Greek words, which obviously resulted in many scribal errors. Nevertheless, one such variation seems to be characteristic of the textual history of the piece in question, namely the reading ܬܘܪܓܡܐ / ܬܘܪܓܡܐ “essence” (line 2). The word ܬܘܪܓܡܐ occurs in CCM 398, the earliest extant manuscript, and in two other manuscripts: MS Orient. Fol. 619 (dated 1715)⁶⁷ and Baghdad, Church of the East 57 (dated 1733).⁶⁸ The first of the three was written in the monastery where ‘AḔdīšō‘ was a monk for a long time; it possibly transmits his poems quite closely to the author’s original version. This might mean that the word was changed for another term at a later stage, possibly for theological reasons that can be explained by the transmission of the text in both East Syriac Church lines—both the Church of the East and the Chaldean Church—during the following centuries. The question of textual transmission between these two church traditions is undoubtedly a challenging scholarly task requiring further study.

2.4.2 Poetic and Stylistic Features

The poem has all the features characteristic of the classical *turgāmā* form, as was standardized during the Syriac Renaissance period (see Section 1 above). It has an alphabetic acrostic, which is a necessary feature of this poetic form.

Murre-van den Berg has pointed out that the poem in question has numerous Greek words.⁶⁹ Moreover, the syllable on which this monorhyme is arranged is -os, which is certainly the easiest one to find rhymes among the Greek masculine nouns.⁷⁰ One of the manuscripts written by ‘AḔdīšō‘, namely SMMJ 159 (1567), contains a glossary of Greek words with their Syriac transla-

66 See Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Diarbékir,” 359–360. Available online at: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/132548>.

67 Sachau, *Verzeichnis der syrischen Handschriften*, pp. 244–250, no. 65.

68 Saliwa, *Catalogue*, no. 57.

69 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 174.

70 For the incorporation of these Greek words in Syriac, see Aaron M. Butts, *Language Change in the Wake of Empire: Syriac in its Greco-Roman Context* (Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic, 11, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016), 98.

tions, written in his hand (SMMJ 159, fol. 48^v–55^v).⁷¹ It is very likely that he used it while composing this poem, since it contains rather uncommon words, some of which occur only very rarely in Syriac dictionaries.

This also explains why explanatory glosses are found in the margins of many manuscripts containing this *turgāmā*. For this reason, we have dedicated a special table to them below (see Table 3).

Syriac verbs with the vowel *o* in the imperative and imperfect are used to rhyme with Greek singular masculine nouns of the second declension: ܡܫܬܬܝܬ (line 11), ܡܫܬܬܝܬ (line 12), ܡܫܬܬܝܬ (line 32), ܡܫܬܬܝܬ (line 34), ܡܫܬܬܝܬ (line 38), ܡܫܬܬܝܬ (line 39), and ܡܫܬܬܝܬ (line 40); they are used here as another source of rhymes. These are the only two categories of words rhymed on in this *turgāmā*.

It is very likely that the choice of rhyming words is related to the content of the poem, dedicated as it is to a Greek martyr. Rhyming on Greek words in Syriac became a kind of poetic fashion in the 13th century, at the height of the Syriac Renaissance. It occurs in several poems by Bar ʿEbrōyō.⁷² In East Syriac hymnography, the metropolitan of Mosul Gabriēl Qamṣāyā is known for his intensive use of Greek loanwords.⁷³ Two hymns demonstrating this occur in the *Wardā* hymnological collection.⁷⁴ As we have suggested above, such hymns seem to be a later addition to the collection, as they contrast sharply with the main body of the collection, which is written in transparent and easy-to-read language.⁷⁵ The tendency towards such rhymes seems to date from the late 13th century, corresponding to the development of Syriac poetry, when more elitist works, characterized by the use of uncommon vocabulary and complex rhymes, were being created.

Thus, ʿAbdišōʿ of Gazarta's *turgāmā* is a development of this earlier poetic trend. More examples of this trend can be found in two *turgāmē* by Gabriēl of Alqosh (early 17th century) which exploit Greek loan-words, as documented by Murre-van den Berg.⁷⁶

71 Available online at: <https://w3id.org/vhmm1/readingRoom/view/501291>.

72 For instance, see *Mušḥōtō d-Mōr Grīgōriyūs Yūhannōn Bar ʿEbrōyō mafriyōnō qaddišō d-Madnhō*, ed. F.Y. Dolabani (Glane; Losser: Bar Hebraeus Verlag, 1983), 155–156.

73 Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 285–286.

74 Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 115–116.

75 Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 116.

76 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 174.

2.4.3 The Contents of the Poem

The poem consists of the following parts:

- I. Introduction: appeal to the audience to attend to the commemoration of the martyr Qūryāqōs (lines 1–4);
- II. Main part: praise of Qūryāqōs (lines 5–32);
- III. Conclusion: doxology and prayer to the Lord (lines 33–44).

The main part of the poem includes the following references to the martyrdom of Qūryāqōs:

- The martyr defeats the ruler Alexander (line 5);
- The martyr defeats the servants of Zeus (line 10);
- The martyr preaches at Tarsus and defeats the mages (line 13–14);
- The martyr breaks idols and statues, exposing the deities Arpaq and Arius (line 24);
- The martyr creates a meal out of the heathen ruler's sandal, feeding thousands of people (line 25);
- The martyr's body is sawn into pieces and thrown into the crowd (lines 27–28);
- The martyr is resurrected by Christ, who shows him heaven and the cosmos (lines 29–30);
- The martyr prays before his death (line 32).

As mentioned in the book by Alisa Terpeliuk, in composing his *turgāmā*, 'AḔdĪŠŌ' of Gazarta must have used the version of the prose *History of Qūryāqōs* that occurs in the St. Petersburg manuscript and in the manuscripts represented in the edition by Bedjan.⁷⁷ The two odd names that occur in the *turgāmā* (see Text IV.I, line 24)—ܐܪܦܩܐ (Arpaq) and ܐܪܝܘܣܐ (Arius)—are also attested in this prose version, where they are listed among the heathen deities. The first one seems to be a distortion of ܐܪܦܥܐ (Orpheus), a mythological Greek hero, and the second, according to Terpeliuk, could be the name of the famous heresiarch of the 4th century that was included in the list by mistake.⁷⁸ Alternatively, it may be Ares, the Greek god of war, since this spelling of his name occurs in the Syriac tradition.⁷⁹ One should note that these versions of the names occur in all the manuscripts of the poem that are available to us (again, see IV.I, line 24), as well as in the printed version.⁸⁰ This may confirm the idea that the poet's archetype actually contained these names. At the same time, it is hard to say exactly when they entered the prose version used by the poet. Nevertheless, it

77 Terpeliuk, *Istoriia muchenichestva*, 14, 24; Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, vol. 3, 266.

78 Terpeliuk, *Istoriia muchenichestva*, 24; Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, vol. 3, 266.

79 See: *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 381.

80 See: *Kṭāḫā d-turgāmē w-rušmā d-ṭeksā da-mšammšānē*, 67.

must have been at a time when the knowledge of Greek mythology and Church history had declined somewhat, i.e. after the Arab conquest of the Middle East.

2.4.4 Glosses in the Turgāmā

Glosses occur in seven of the twelve manuscripts available to us. They are arranged here, in Table 3 in grey, with the words that are commented on rendered in black.⁸¹

TABLE 3 Glosses in the *Turgāmā* on the Martyr Qūryāqōs by ‘Aḥdīšō’ of Gazarta

Line number	MS B	MS C	MS F	MS G	MS H	MS I	MS K	Ed.
1	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ
2	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ
3	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ
5	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ			
10	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ		ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ
11	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	corrupt	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ
14	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ			ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ
15			ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ		ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ
17	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ		ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ
18	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ Corrupt	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ
19	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ Corrupt		ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ	ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ

81 We have not included the glosses in the apparatus for the main text of the poem, since it would have made the apparatus very complex and inconvenient for reading. Besides, as we argue here, it does not belong to the author's version.

TABLE 3 Glosses in the *Turgāmā* on the Martyr Qūryāqōs by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta (*cont.*)

Line number	MS B	MS C	MS F	MS G	MS H	MS I	MS K	Ed.
20	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ Corrupt	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ		ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ
21	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ Corrupt	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ		ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ		ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ
22	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ Corrupt	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ
23	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ		ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ
24	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ corrupt	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ		
25	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ		ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ
26	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ		ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ
27	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ 82 ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ
28	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ			ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ
30	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ			ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ
31	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ			ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ
32	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ corrupt	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ			
36	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ corrupt	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ		ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ
37	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ corrupt	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ			ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ
40	ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ		ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܘܒܕܐܢܐ					

In addition to Greek words, common Syriac verbs in this position are also often explained, sometimes even in Arabic (see Table 3, lines 11, 32, 40).

The glosses have been used as reference material for the translation of the text, at least as an example of how the corresponding words were perceived by Syriac clergy during Ottoman times. That nevertheless seems rather important.

Two main factors influenced the development of East Syriac hymnography in the period after the 13th century: first, the evolution of liturgical practice and second, the literary tastes of the age. If the first factor determined the themes and motifs of church poetry, the second influenced its form and poetic features. At the same time, the second factor usually continued in effect even when the impact of the first factor ended, when themes and motifs were already fixed. This may explain the appearance of a multitude of hymns through centuries on the same themes, meant for the same commemorations. Here a phenomenon common to medieval Middle Eastern literature comes into force: the poet's attempts to demonstrate his mastery in versifying given themes and plots.⁸⁴

Regarding the use of ecclesiastical poetry, one can assume that the two 'ōnyātā by 'AḔdĪšŌ' of Gazarta on the martyr Qūryāqōs discussed in this section were intended primarily for performance in monastic communities. This is supported by the fact that other aforementioned hymns of extensive length were well suited for liturgical recitation in a monastery at the night vigil on the eve of a feast. Furthermore, these hymns were not included in the manuscripts of the standard hymnological *Wardā* collection, which has had wide liturgical use. Nevertheless, this hypothesis needs further confirmation.

However, unlike the 'ōnyātā, the *turgāmā* discussed here has entered into the regular ecclesiastical collection known as the *Book of Turgāmē*, and therefore occurs in numerous manuscripts. This book is still in use, in its printed version, in all the congregations of the Church of the East. There are likely two reasons for this: the brevity of such hymns and the fact that the *turgāmē* were chanted at the Eucharist on the day of the feast itself (unlike the night vigils, which were omitted in parish churches).

84 This phenomenon seems to be universal across different eras and traditions, but it is in the medieval Middle East that it becomes formative for literary life. A literary circle was formed at court, around a ruler, and success in poetic competitions was the key to the advancement of its members. This was expressed in a special poetic form of response to another poet, using and supplementing the lines of the latter, and thus aiming to surpass him; in the Persian tradition, this poetic form was called *naẓīra*; for instance, see N. Chalisoova, "Ob intertextual'noi tehnikе Hafiza [Об интертекстуальной технике Хафиза]," *Vestnik RGGU* 20 (100) (2012): 43–44.

Text and Translation IV.I. Turgāmā on Mār Qūryāqōs by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

Manuscripts used:

- A: **CCM 398**, *Miscellanea*, Chaldean Cathedral of Mardin, 1583, fol. 204^r–204^v⁸⁵ (base manuscript);
- B: **DCA 49**, *Book of Turgāmē*, Chaldean Diocese of Alqosh, 1529, fol. 61^r–61^v (written on a separate leaf in a different hand than the rest of the manuscript);⁸⁶
- C: **BnF Syr. 434**, *Miscellanea*, the National Library of France, Paris, 16th–17th cent., fol. 203^r–204^r; ⁸⁷
- D: **CCM 400**, *Book of Turgāmē*, Chaldean Cathedral of Mardin, 17th cent., fol. 72^v–74^r; ⁸⁸
- E: **Ms. Orient. Fol. 619**, *The Wardā Hymnological Collection*, State Library, Berlin, 1715, fol. 195^r–196^v; ⁸⁹
- F: **MS 57**, *Book of Turgāmē*, Church of the East, Baghdad, 1733, fol. 31^r–32^r⁹⁰
- G: **DCA 102**, *Book of Turgāmē*, Chaldean Diocese of Alqosh, 1761, fol. 44^r–45^r; ⁹¹
- H: **MS 136**, *Book of Turgāmē*, Church of the East, Baghdad, 1767, fol. 46^r–47^r; ⁹²
- I: **ACE 58**, *Hymnological Collection*, Chaldean Archdiocese of Erbil, 1770, fol. 139^v–140^v; ⁹³

85 Formerly Diyarbakir 95 in the Diyarbakir Chaldean collection. See Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Diarbékir,” 395; Available online at: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132517>.

86 See the description in H. Sana, “Manuscripts of Al-Qosh Church,” in *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in Iraq*, vol. 1 (Baghdad: Iraqi Academy Press, 1978), 241; Available online at: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/208288>.

87 Briquel-Chatonnet, *Manuscripts syriaques*, 178–183; available online at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53110176r>.

88 Scher, “Notice des mss. syriaques et arabes conservés dans la bibliothèque de l’évêché chaldéen de Mardin,” 64–95 (here: 74); Available online at: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132519>.

89 Sachau, *Verzeichniss der syrischen Handschriften*, 244–250, no. 65.

90 Gewargis Saliwa, *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Library of the Diocese of the Church of the East in Baghdad* (Baghdad, 2001), no. 57 [in Arabic].

91 Sana, “Manuscripts of Al-Qosh Church,” 267; Available online at: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/208327>.

92 Saliwa, *Catalogue*, no. 136.

93 Jacques Isaac, *Catalogue des manuscrits syro-chaldéens conservés dans la bibliothèque de l’Archevêché chaldéen d’Erbil à Aïnkawa, Iraq* (Baghdad: Dār Najm al-Mashriq, 2005), no. 60; available online at: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/134092>.

40

ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
 ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
 ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
 ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
 ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

204^r

Again, an introduction,¹¹⁶ which is a *turgāmā* on Mār Qūryāqōs by
Mār ‘Abdišō‘

- 1 ALAPH: Oh those who believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit,
three persons, one essence, one God,
Beth: Come in fear and love, my beloved lovers of the Just One,
celebrate the commemoration of the martyr Qūryāqōs!
- 5 GAMAL: He rose to the combat heroically, although he was a little boy,
overcame and defeated the hegemon, king Alexander.¹¹⁷
DALATH: He resembled Stephan, the first-born among the martyrs, in
his suffering.
And he became a member of Peter’s blessed company.
HE: The faith, and hope and love, as Paul said,
10 became the arms of the martyr, with which he defeated the worshipers
of Zeus.
WAW: On the day of his feast, we should give heed to his history,
and seek refuge in his rest-place, and find a haven in it.
ZAYN: He sowed the seed of truth and righteousness in Tarsus,
and plucked the weed of the evil seed of Magianism.¹¹⁸
- 15 HETH: For the confession of his Lord, he endured all kinds of hardships.
He neither feared nor succumbed to the battle with his suffering, like a
[real] healer.

114 D, K: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ; E: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ; J: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ; L: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

115 H: ܐܠܗܐ

116 I.e., an introduction to the Gospel reading read during the liturgy, which corresponds to the liturgical context and purpose of the *turgāmā* hymns.

117 Although the word ܐܠܗܐ (“hegemon, ruler”) seems to be in construct state, it is in fact in absolute state. The literal translation would then be: “overcame and defeated a hegemon, the king Alexander.” Nevertheless, it is the same person, as follows from the other versions of the narrative (see Sections 2.1 and 2.2 above).

118 The word ܡܓܝܢܐ (*māgōs*) is generally used as a term for “Magism,” i.e. “Magianism,” i.e. Zoroastrianism, but could be used in a wider sense, referring to any pagan ruler (see *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 2003). Note that this is how it is explained in the glosses to this poem, where the term ܡܓܝܢܐ (“Magianism”) occurs (see Table 3, line 14).

ṬETH: He carried his cross, as his Lord Christ commanded him.

And with gladness, he endured torments and all shouts.

YODH: This guileless one established the image of his Lord in his person
20 by what he painfully suffered from the persecutors.

KAPH: His crown shines in the abode of light higher than the sphere [of
planets]

among the infants slaughtered by Herod in the city of Jebus.¹¹⁹

LAMADH: He guided many Gentiles to the way of truth by the power of
God the Father,

204^v and broke statues, and exposed Arpaq¹²⁰ and Arius.¹²¹

25 MIM: From the shoe of the lawless king, he made a meal¹²²
and fed thousands, as his Lord did in the desert.

NUN: The devil's worshipers sawed apart his body after having beaten
him.

Then he was broiled by the hegemon's order before the crowd.

SEMKATH: Our Lord Jesus, the hope of those who fear him, stepped
down from the throne

30 and resurrected him, having shown him His excellency and His uni-
verse.

ʿE: He made a plea, when he saw that the murderer was going to kill him
and asked him for some time to pray before he would be slaughtered.

PE: You who save everyone that remembers Your name and who become
his shelter,

in the name of your servant, cast off any harm from him and throw it
away!

35 ṢADHE: May Your Cross protect the Holy universal Church,
and destroy its haters completely, and raise the ranks of the clergy!

QOPH: May it cause wars to cease, heal the afflicted, and strengthen the
people

of the Christians, and take away all chastisements from them.

RESH: May the Great Shepherd spread and send the light of his counten-
ance

40 upon His flock and sprinkle its face with the dew of His grace!

119 I.e. Jerusalem.

120 *Arpaq* must be a distortion of the name **ارڤاق** (Orpheus); on these names, see section 4.2.4 above.

121 Or Ares (see section 4.2.4 above).

122 The translation is based on the context given in other poems on this martyr (see section 4.2.4 above), which is supported also in the glosses to this *turgāmā* (see Table 3, line 25).

SHIN: Glorious are You, our Lord, and glorious is Your power, and worthy of faith, with which the martyr shone and defeated every peril!

TAW: And now, let us listen also to the word proclaimed by the apostle Matthew the tax collector, one of the twelve theologians.¹²³

3 Short Poetic Prayers

3.1 *Stanzas for the Service of Months*

The *Service of Months* (ܩܠܝܠܐ ܕܬܪܝܠܐ), or *Stanzas for the Service of Months* (ܩܠܝܠܐ ܕܬܪܝܠܐ ܕܩܠܝܠܐ) or even 'Ōnyāṭā for the Service of Months (ܩܠܝܠܐ ܕܬܪܝܠܐ ܕܩܠܝܠܐ ܕܐܢܝܐܬܐ), as it is called in various manuscripts, is a collection of prayers written in poetic form. It was available to us in the following manuscripts:

- SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 134^r–135^v
- CCM 486, 18th cent., fol. 34^v–41^r
- CCM 402, 18th cent., fol. 67^r–68^v (beginning missing)
- CPB 79, 18th–19th cent., fol. 7^v–13^v
- CPB 114, 1796, fol. 217^v–223^v
- CCM 485, 19th cent., fol. 95^r–101^v
- QACCT 60, 19th cent., fol. 39^v–46^r.

The maximum number of these poetic prayers in the available manuscripts is 22 (see Table 4). In this work, we reproduce the text of the rite of the months according to the autograph of 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta SMMJ 159 (see above, Chapter 2, Section 5), which is the earliest known manuscript of this text. Nine prayers are included in it (see below, Text IV.11). Readings of other manuscripts are presented in the textual apparatus; all the rest of the poetic prayers that occur in other manuscripts are listed in Table 4.

This collection of liturgical prayers, as suggested by both the titles and the texts themselves, are intended to be read at the beginning of each month in order to obtain God's blessing for all months of the year. Compositionally, it consists of anonymous introductory prayers (Table 4, No. 1–6), after which come prayers attributed to Abrahām of Bēt Slōk (Slōkāyā) (Table 4, No. 7–9), followed by three prayers attributed to Gabriēl of Bēt Slōk (Table 4, No. 10–12), and then prayers ascribed to 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta (Table 4, No. 13–22).

¹²³ Or: one of the twelve, a theologian. The word *theologian* is in the singular here, but the author did not know Greek grammar, having used the words in the forms given in a glossary. Moreover, he needed this form for the rhyme. See also Butts, *Language Change in the Wake of Empire*, 106: "In a few, rare cases, the singular and the plural are exactly the same for a Greek loanword in Syriac ..."

TABLE 4 Stanzas (Poetic Prayers) for the *Service of Months* in extant Manuscripts

No. of the text	Incipit	Author	MSS containing the text
1	بُخَيْفَ مَذْنُ هَذَا		SMMJ 159, fol. 134 ^r CCM 486, fol. 34 ^v –35 ^r CPB 79, fol. 7 ^v CPB 114, fol. 217 ^v CCM 485, fol. 95 ^v QACCT 60, fol. 39 ^v –40 ^r
2	هَذَا مَذْنُ لَمَنْ مَذْنُ		CCM 486, fol. 34 ^v –35 ^r CPB 79, fol. 7 ^v CPB 114, fol. 218 ^r CCM 485, fol. 95 ^v QACCT 60, 40 ^r
3	هَذَا مَذْنُ لَمَنْ مَذْنُ هَذَا مَذْنُ هَذَا مَذْنُ		SMMJ 159, fol. 134 ^r CCM 486, fol. 35 ^r CPB 79, fol. 7 ^v –8 ^r CPB 114, fol. 218 ^r CCM 485, fol. 95 ^v QACCT 60, fol. 40 ^r –40 ^v
4	هَذَا مَذْنُ لَمَنْ مَذْنُ		SMMJ 159, fol. 134 ^r CCM 486, fol. 35 ^r CPB 79, fol. 8 ^r CPB 114, fol. 218 ^r –218 ^v CCM 485, fol. 95 ^v –96 ^r QACCT 60, fol. 40 ^v
5	هَذَا مَذْنُ لَمَنْ مَذْنُ هَذَا مَذْنُ		CCM 485, fol. 95 ^v –96 ^r CCM 486, fol. 35 ^r –35 ^v CPB 79, fol. 8 ^r –9 ^v CPB 114, fol. 218 ^v QACCT 60, fol. 40 ^v –41 ^r
6	هَذَا مَذْنُ لَمَنْ مَذْنُ		CCM 486, fol. 35 ^v CPB 79, fol. 8 ^v CPB 114, fol. 218 ^v –219 ^r CCM 485, fol. 96 ^v QACCT 60, fol. 41 ^r

TABLE 4 Stanzas (Poetic Prayers) for the *Service of Months* (cont.)

No. of	Incipit	Author	MSS containing the text
the text			
7	ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܒܝܬ ܫܠܐܟ ܬܝܬܝܚܐ	Abrahām of Bēt Slōk	SMMJ 159, fol. 134 ^r –134 ^v CCM 486, fol. 35 ^v –36 ^r CPB 79, fol. 9 ^r CPB 114, fol. 219 ^r CCM 485, fol. 96 ^v QACCT 60, fol. 41 ^r
8	ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܒܝܬ ܫܠܐܟ ܬܝܬܝܚܐ	Abrahām of Bēt Slōk	SMMJ 159, fol. 134 ^v CCM 486, fol. 36 ^r CPB 79, fol. 9 ^r CPB 114, fol. 219 ^r –219 ^v CCM 485, fol. 96 ^v –97 ^r QACCT 60, fol. 41 ^v –42 ^r
9	ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܒܝܬ ܫܠܐܟ ܬܝܬܝܚܐ	Abrahām of Bēt Slōk	SMMJ 159, fol. 134 ^v CCM 486, fol. 36 ^r CPB 79, fol. 9 ^r –9 ^v CPB 114, fol. 219 ^r –219 ^v CCM 485, fol. 97 ^r QACCT 60, fol. 42 ^r
10	ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܒܝܬ ܫܠܐܟ (ܐܒܪܗܡ'ܝܢ'ܝܢ)	Gabriel of Bēt Slōk (Abrahām's nephew)	CCM 486, fol. 36 ^v –37 ^v CPB 79, fol. 9 ^v –10 ^r CPB 114, fol. 220 ^r –221 ^r CCM 485, fol. 97 ^v QACCT 60, fol. 42 ^r –43 ^r
11	ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܒܝܬ ܫܠܐܟ ܬܝܬܝܚܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ'ܝܢ'ܝܢ ܬܝܬܝܚܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ'ܝܢ'ܝܢ	Gabriel of Bēt Slōk (Abrahām's nephew)	CCM 485, fol. 98 ^r –98 ^v CCM 486, fol. 37 ^r CPB 79, fol. 10 ^v –11 ^r CPB 114, fol. 221 ^r –221 ^v QACCT 60, fol. 43 ^r –43 ^v
12	ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܒܝܬ ܫܠܐܟ (ܐܒܪܗܡ'ܝܢ'ܝܢ)	Gabriel of Bēt Slōk (Abrahām's nephew)	CCM 486, fol. 38 ^r –38 ^v CPB 79, fol. 11 ^r –11 ^v CPB 114, fol. 221 ^v –222 ^v CCM 485, fol. 99 ^r QACCT 60, fol. 43 ^v –44 ^v

TABLE 4 Stanzas (Poetic Prayers) for the *Service of Months* (cont.)

No. of the text	Incipit	Author	MSS containing the text
13	ܐܝ ܬܗܘܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ	'Abdišō' of Gazarta	SMMJ 159, fol. 135 ^v CCM 486, fol. 39 ^r CPB 79, fol. 12 ^r CPB 114, fol. 222 ^v CCM 485, fol. 100 ^r QACCT 60, fol. 44 ^v
14	ܐܝ ܬܗܘܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ ܬܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ ܬܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ ܬܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ	'Abdišō' of Gazarta	SMMJ 159, fol. 135 ^v CCM 486, fol. 39 ^r –39 ^v CPB 79, fol. 12 ^r –12 ^v CCM 402, fol. 67 ^r CPB 114, fol. 222 ^v –223 ^r CCM 485, fol. 100 ^r –100 ^v QACCT 60, fol. 44 ^v –45 ^r
15	ܐܝ ܬܗܘܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ	'Abdišō' of Gazarta (?)	CCM 486, fol. 39 ^v QACCT 60, fol. 45 ^r
16	ܐܝ ܬܗܘܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ	'Abdišō' of Gazarta (?)	CCM 486, fol. 39 ^v
17	ܐܝ ܬܗܘܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ	'Abdišō' of Gazarta (?)	CCM 486, fol. 40 ^r CCM 485, fol. 101 ^r
18	ܐܝ ܬܗܘܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ	'Abdišō' of Gazarta (?)	CPB 79, fol. 12 ^v –13 ^r CCM 485, fol. 100 ^r –100 ^v
19	ܐܝ ܬܗܘܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ	'Abdišō' of Gazarta (?)	SMMJ 159, fol. 134 ^r CCM 485, fol. 101 ^r CCM 486, fol. 39 ^v QACCT 60, fol. 45 ^r
20	ܐܝ ܬܗܘܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ	'Abdišō' of Gazarta (?)	CCM 486, 18th cent., fol. 39 ^v ¹²⁴ CPB 79, fol. 13 ^r CCM 402, fol. 67 ^r CPB 114, fol. 223 ^r CCM 485, fol. 100 ^v –101 ^r QACCT 60, fol. 45 ^v

¹²⁴ In this manuscript, the first two words of the incipit differ: ܐܝ ܬܗܘܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ

TABLE 4 Stanzas (Poetic Prayers) for the *Service of Months* (cont.)

No. of the text	Incipit	Author	MSS containing the text
21	مجدد تسجد لله	‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta (?)	CPB 79, fol. 13 ^r –13 ^v CCM 402, fol. 67 ^r –67 ^v CPB 114, fol. 223 ^v CCM 485, fol. 101 ^r QACCT 60, fol. 45 ^v
22	لحيى تذى فدهى	‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta (?)	CCM 486, fol. 40 ^r –40 ^v CPB 79, fol. 13 ^v CCM 402, fol. 68 ^r CPB 114, fol. 223 ^v CCM 485, fol. 101 ^r QACCT 60, fol. 45 ^v –46 ^v

At the same time, the stability of the prayers found within these groups differs significantly. Those ascribed to Aḇrāhām of Bēt Slōk and Gaḇriēl of Bēt Slōk have a consistent composition in the different manuscripts, while the introductory prayers and, to some extent, the liturgical prayers attributed to ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta, are not found in all relevant manuscripts, as can be seen from Table 4.

The introductory prayers are supplications to God to bless the year and each of its months. It can be deduced that they should be recited at the beginning of each month. In this case, instead of the name of the month the text has the word (فـ) “so-and-so”; here, obviously, the name of the corresponding month would be substituted while reading (see Text IV.11, poems 1–3).

All the prayers of this block are written in seven-syllable meter and consist of eight lines, most of them beginning with the words تذى فـ (Lord, bless ...). Such universality in the form of these prayers suggests that they represent stanzas of a single strophic poem. It is not by chance that they are called *ōnyātā* in some manuscripts (see CCM 485, fol. 95^r; CCM 486, fol. 34^r; CPB 114, fol. 117^v). The fact that the rhymes in this part of the prayer block are characterized by imprecision and irregularity suggests an earlier time of their composition. Obviously, they existed already in the time of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta, since part of them occurs in the manuscript written by him (see Table 4, No. 1, 3, 4; Text IV.11, poems 1–3). Their anonymity in all manuscripts, including ‘Abdīšō’s autograph, seems

to confirm a much earlier date of creation. As Murre-van den Berg notes, this rite was in use even before the 16th century.¹²⁵

These introductory prayers are invariably followed in the extant manuscripts by prayers attributed to Aḇrāhām of Bēt Slōk (see Table 4, No. 7–9). This monk and ecclesiastical poet of the first half of the 16th century, who apparently played an important role in the ecclesiastical poetry of the period, was an older contemporary and spiritual teacher of ‘Aḇdīšō‘ of Gazarta, as has been shown above, in Chapter 3, Section 2.3.

In the manuscript written by ‘Aḇdīšō‘ of Gazarta, all three of these poetic prayers (SMMJ 159, fol. 133^v–134^v) have a clear attribution to Aḇrāhām in the heading: “by Rabban Aḇrāhām of Bēt Slōk (ܪܒܒܢܐ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܒܝܬܫܠܐ).” The same indication is kept in all other manuscripts, as one can see from their publication below (see Text IV.II, poems 5–7). Since ‘Aḇdīšō‘ was a student and contemporary of Aḇrāhām, there is no reason to doubt this attribution. Many manuscripts give in the rubrics the date of composition of these three poems, which invariably appears as “the year 1837 of the Greeks,” corresponding to 1526 AD (see Text IV.II, poem 4, footnote). This date does not contradict what we know about this author (see Chapter 3, Section 2.3); as a spiritual authority for ‘Aḇdīšō‘ of Gazarta, he must have been somewhat older than the latter was.

Judging from the form of the service, these may well have been monastic prayer rites to be carried out in a cell. Obviously much interested in popularizing this rite, Aḇrāhām wrote a short treatise on such praying.¹²⁶ At the same time, it is possible that this service was also performed in ordinary parish churches.

These three short poems in question consist of twelve, eight and seven stanzas and are supplied with an acrostic, using the initial letters of names of the months (fol. 134^r), the words “Sun” and “moon” (ܫܡܫܐ ܠܝܠܐ) (fol. 134^r), and the days of the week (fol. 134^v; see Text IV.II, poems 5–7). Curiously, all three poems are monorhyme with a regular rhyme on *-tā*. The acrostic appears to be a poetic device here, reinforcing the content of the poems, emphasizing their relationship to the calendar. The use of the words “Sun” and “Moon” for the acrostic is characteristic. It was probably intended to show that the prayer envisages both the solar months of the Syriac calendar and the lunar months of the Islamic calendar, which was used by Muslims and, in the economic sphere, by all communities living in Islamic states.¹²⁷

125 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 151.

126 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 236.

127 The question of the relationship between the Muslim and Christian calendars was obvi-

One of the three poetic prayers mentions the *Rogation of the Ninevites* (see IV.II, poem 7, line 4), a very popular three-day period of prayer in the East Syriac Church before Lent.¹²⁸ The author compares it to the small prayer text discussed here. In another poem, he urges supplication for the ruler and the head of the Church (see IV.II, poem 5, lines 8–9), which is also characteristic in prayers of the Rogation of the Ninevites.¹²⁹

The next group within this block are three prayers, attributed in most manuscripts to Gabriēl of Bēt Slōk (see Table 4, No. 10–12), the nephew of Abrāhām. The only manuscript where they are omitted is 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta's autograph. The titles in the various manuscripts invariably date these poems to 1910 AG, which corresponds to 1599 AD. Judging from his presumed time of activity, from the late 16th to early 17th centuries, this dating seems quite likely.¹³⁰ From this we can assume that these verses were written after 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta wrote his manuscript, which is why he could not include them in it. For this reason, we have not included these three prayers in the critical text below (see IV.II), since the main purpose of this study is to present and discuss the texts composed by 'Abdīšō' and his contemporaries.

Next come the poems (poetic prayers) which are attributed to 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta in all manuscripts (see IV.II, poems 8, 9). In his autograph, there are only two of them. The other manuscripts contain many more, and the number varies considerably (see Table 4, No. 13–22). Unlike in the other manuscripts, these prayers remain anonymous in the autograph. The issue of 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta indicating the authorship and attribution of poems in his autographs is discussed in Ch. 5 below (in particular, Section 2). Generally, we see no reason to doubt the authorship of these two prayers.

The two poems in question consist of eight and ten lines of poetry respectively and involve an acrostic (see IV.II, poems 8, 9). In form and style, they continue the prayers written by Abrāhām of Bēt Slōk. Very likely, they are to be considered the concluding prayers of the whole prayer cycle under consideration. In particular, they are prayers for the entire congregation, for everyone who is present at prayer.

ously of interest during this period. For example, Gabriēl, the Metropolitan of Gazarta wrote a *mēmra* on their comparison in 1585 (see Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 236).

128 For instance, see Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 88–92, 252–436.

129 See Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 414–436.

130 See Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 327.

It remains unclear why, of all the prayers attributed to him in the various manuscripts of ‘Aḇdīšō’ of Gazarta, only the above two are included by him in this autograph (see Table 4, No. 13–22; Text IV.11, poems 8, 9). Since this manuscript is dated 1567, the last years of the author’s life, it seems unlikely that the numerous other prayers were written by him later. However, it cannot be ruled out that they were later attributed to him. On the other hand, it is also possible that ‘Aḇdīšō’ of Gazarta purposely left out prayers that he had already composed in his autograph manuscript. Perhaps his intention was to create a short recension of the *Service of Months*. This is strongly suggested by the fact that he also included only a small portion of the introductory prayers (see Table 4, No. 1–6). It is quite possible that ‘Aḇdīšō’, who was already patriarch by this time, was able to create different recensions of liturgical texts at his discretion.

This collection of prayers is thus a literary monument in which several scribes of different generations participated. This undoubtedly speaks to its popularity, as well as to the growing use of poetry in ecclesiastical texts in the Middle East. Despite slight differences between the extant poetic subgroups, the cycle is written in a single meter and is a rather consistent text.

Perhaps the reason for this text’s popularity is its similarity to the *Rogation of the Ninevites*, which was quite popular in the East Syriac Church. However, in this case, instead of lengthy hymns, short poetic prayers are used, written in the same meter as the hymns. Perhaps this reflects a general trend in East Syriac church literature of this period, when short poetic forms became especially widespread.

Text and Translation IV.11. Stanzas for the Service of Months

[1]

Manuscripts used:

- A: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 134^r (base manuscript)
- B: CCM 486, 18th cent., fol. 34^v–35^v
- C: CPB 79, 18th–19th cent., fol. 7^v
- D: CPB 114, 1796, fol. 217^v
- E: CCM 485, 19th cent., fol. 95^r–95^v
- F: QACCT 60, 19th cent., fol. 39^v–40^r

: ܡܚܠܬܐ ܕܡܢܚܐ :

ܡܚܠܬܐ ܕܡܢܚܐ. ܠܠܝܠ ܕܡܢܚܐ ܕܡܢܚܐ.
ܡܚܠܬܐ ܕܡܢܚܐ. ܡܚܠܬܐ ܕܡܢܚܐ. ܡܚܠܬܐ ܕܡܢܚܐ.

134^r

Ḥalfak madyec ḥabā. qāz dīcā sādēt.
Ḥafā salkāz ā dīcā. ¹dā qās ādā ḥabā¹³¹

134^r

Rite of the months

Arrange the month and bless it,
the crown of the year, with Your grace!
And make it a blessed month,
and in Your goodness make *such-and-such* (a month) joyful!
May the rogation reach You,
Lord of months and years!
Prayer is the key for the creature,
to open the door of the Kingdom!

[2]

Manuscripts used:

- A: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 134^r (base manuscript)
- B: CCM 486, 18th cent., fol. 35^r
- C: CPB 79, 18th–19th cent., fol. 7^v–8^r
- D: CPB 114, 1796, fol. 218^r
- E: CCM 485, 19th cent., fol. 95^v–96^r
- F: QACCT 60, 19th cent., fol. 40^r–40^v

¹³² تَجِدُ مَذْ لَسْتِ فِي عَمَلِكِ. وَلِحَالِكِ هِيَ تَهْتَكُ
 جِلَّ ¹³³ نَسَمَهُ دَسَ بِيْلَهُ. اَيْ لِي ¹³⁴ يَمْوَى ذَوْنُهُ.
 فَلَمْ يَمْوَى حَسْبَهُ. هَا تُتَبَّلُ بِمِ تَعْمَلُ ¹³⁵

134^r134^r

God bless this year
and its crown with Your goodness!
And let there be no fear in it,
nor terror nor trembling!
May *such-and-such* (a month) come with joy!
And may it be received as the rogation!

131 B, C, D, E, F: **ههههه له ههههه هههههه**

132 B, C, D, E, F: **بَعِثْنَا**

133 B, C, D, E, F: Δ

134 B, C, D, E, F: 

135 B, C, D, E, F: + بَدَلْتُهُ بِخَيْلٍ وَأَعْتَصِمْتُ بِالْأَنْفُسِ

ܡܠܟܝܢ ܝܠܕܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ.
 ܡܠܟܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢܝܢ.
 ܡܠܟܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ.
 ܡܠܟܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ.¹⁴²
 ܡܠܟܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ.¹⁴³

10

134^r By Rabban Aḇrāhām Slōkāyā; On the first letter of the names of
 the months of the year

134^v TAW: Our God, make the year blessed!

TAW: May the spring blossom and the harvest as well!

KAPH: May the priesthood increase all year round!

KAPH: May it¹⁴⁴ be more submissive than senseless!

5 SHIN: Sustain in the Church,

ALAPH: oh God,¹⁴⁵ those who are awake for the service!

NUN: May the times of rest come to us!

ALAPH: May Augustus¹⁴⁶ rise victoriously!

ḤETH: May the Theologian,¹⁴⁷ head of the priesthood,

10 TAW: be clothed in healing and goodness!

ALAPH: May the granaries be filled, Lord of blessings!

ALAPH: Pour out Your mercies on creation!

[6]

Manuscripts used:

- A: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 134^v (base manuscript)
- B: CCM 486, 18th cent., fol. 36^r
- C: CPB 79, 18th–19th cent., fol. 9^r
- D: CPB 114, 1796, fol. 219^r–219^v
- E: CCM 485, 19th cent., fol. 96^v–97^r
- F: QACCT 60, 19th cent., fol. 41^v–42^r

¹⁴² B: ܡܠܟܝܢ

¹⁴³ B: ܡܠܟܝܢ

¹⁴⁴ I.e. the year.

¹⁴⁵ ܡܠܟܝܢ (*-hyh*) is a tetragram for God borrowed from Hebrew (see *Thesaurus Syriacus*, p. 46).

¹⁴⁶ I.e. sublime; here, probably an epithet of a ruler, about whom this part of the supplication is made. Obviously, it is an allusion to the Byzantine tradition, with the king being a Christian leader.

¹⁴⁷ Most likely, the patriarch as head of the Church hierarchy is meant.

3.2 Stanzas (Poetic Canons) for Ordination

Among the poems attributed to ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta are sixteen short poetic prayers, which we have found in three manuscripts, dedicated to the ordination of priests and deacons (see Appendix 1, 9). Each such poem, as the titles suggest, is dedicated to a particular name, with which all the rhymes are made. They are thus a monorhyme, where the choice of rhyme depends on the name of the person to whom the text is dedicated.

The prayers in question, and the relative names, are different in each manuscript. No repetitions have been noted in different manuscripts. They are distributed among the manuscripts as follows:

- **SMMJ 116**: on the name of Amid (fol. 120^r–120^v); on the name of the place Šembakayē (fol. 120^v); on the name of Skandar (fol. 135^r); on the name of ‘Abd al-Karīm (fol. 135^r); on the name of Hābel (fol. 135^v); on the name of Guryā (fol. 135^v–136^r); on the name of Naṣṣār (fol. 136^r).
- **APSTCH THRI 57**: on the name of Aḫrāhām (fol. 114^r–115^r); on the name of Mārquōs (Marcus) (fol. 114^r–115^r); on the name of David (fol. 115^r–115^v); on the name of ‘Aṭṭayē (fol. 115^v–116^r); on his associate (fol. 116^r); on the name of Eliyā (fol. 116^r–116^v); on the name of Tō’mā (fol. 116^v–117^r); on the name of ‘Abd al-Aḫad (fol. 117^r); on the name of Šem‘ōn (fol. 117^v).

The first listed manuscript, ‘Aḥdišō’ of Gazarta’s autograph (see above, Chapter 2, Section 2), contains the poems in two different places. Two prayers are included in the main part of the manuscript and are part of the “Canons of Ordination” attributed to Išō’yahb bar Malkōn (late 12th–13th cent.),¹⁶³ as the title written in the hand of ‘Aḥdišō’ of Gazarta suggests (SMMJ 116, fol. 115v). Where these two prayers are inserted in this corpus (fol. 120r–120v), the scribe has written ܕܒܝܕܝܢܐ (“By the scribe”).

This may mean that the author, as the scribe of this manuscript, wanted to introduce these works into the Church's liturgical canon intentionally, and thus gave an accurate indication of his authorship, according to custom.

The rest of the poetic prayers for ordination in this manuscript are placed at the end of the manuscript, on bound sheets, in the same hand, but evidently written by him at a later date. As shown above, ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta wrote manuscript SMMJ 166 for himself and continued to use it over the following years (see above, Chapter 2, Section 2). It can be concluded that the

163 Išo'yahb bar Malkon, bishop of Mardin and then metropolitan of Nisibis, was one of the most important East Syriac authors of the Syriac Renaissance period; he wrote a number of theological and grammatical treatises; see L. Van Rompay, "Išo'yahb bar Malkon," in *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, ed. by S.P. Brock, A. Butts, G.A. Kiraz, and L. van Rompay (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 219.

author composed each of these prayers as needed, i.e., on the occasion of the ordination of a particular person. We can assume that 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta actually read these prayers at the service during the ordination of each cleric.

The author probably did not think it necessary or possible to collect all the poetic prayers for ordination he had written into one collection. This is confirmed by the fact that there is not a single match in the three manuscripts where they are found. This also raises the question of how many such poetic ordination prayers 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta could have written in total. Obviously, we are only dealing with a small number of them that have been preserved and which we have discovered.

All of these poems are written in seven-syllable meter and with a single end-rhyme. The texts under consideration have between 10 and 20 lines if we count each rhymed half-verse, always an even number (except for one case, which will be discussed below).

The author was probably guided by two motivations in composing these texts. Firstly, he tried to write prayers in a poetic form, widespread in use at the time, thus improving the quality of liturgical texts. Secondly, writing poems with a given rhyme scheme was generally considered an important poetic exercise and an indicator of poetic skill. Thus, in this case, as in many others like it, we can note two reasons for the poetic creations: ecclesiastical need and the author's personal aspirations.

Apparently, as with many other cases, 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta used the Syriac Renaissance as the model for his work. This can also be inferred from his autograph, where two of his poetic canons of ordination are included in the collection of canons, also written in his hand, similar in poetic peculiarities and usage. The collection itself is ascribed to Išo'yahb bar Malkōn, an East Syriac author of the Syriac Renaissance,¹⁶⁴ as the heading in 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta's own hand suggests.

The two specimens of this poetic form that we have chosen to reproduce here as examples do indeed constitute a poetic prayer (see below, IV.III, poems 1, 2). Both texts, like other poems of this type, are single petitions addressed to God for the granting of favour to the person being ordained. As a rule, each is divided into two parts: a request to grant the ordained person strength to fulfil his new ecclesiastical duties worthily and a petition to grant him eternal bliss. At the same time, most of the lines are a single extended petition, which is generally characteristic of such a prayer.

164 See Van Rompay, "Išo'yahb bar Malkon," 219.

One of the poetic prayers for ordination published here is dedicated to a man named Skandar (see below, IV.III, poem 1). This name reflects *Iskandar*, the Arabic-Persian variant of the name Alexander, the famous Greek king and conqueror who was popular in both Christian and Muslim traditions. Usually, the name in Syriac is simply *Aleksandrōs*, an exact reproduction of the Greek. We thus see, in this case, another illustration of the centuries-long coexistence of Christian and Muslim traditions in the Middle East. At the same time, as the rhythm of the text shows, this name has two syllables here, not three; it is pronounced "Skandar," not "Iskandar," i.e., without a prosthetic or epenthetic vowel. A word beginning with two consonants is entirely possible in Syriac; unlike Arabic and Persian, the addition of an initial vowel is not necessary.

The poem consists of sixteen semi-lines, each of which has an end rhyme in *-ar*, to rhyme with the ordinand's name Skandar. The prayer appears to have been written for his ordination as a deacon, since the text speaks of future "altar service" and the administration of the sacraments is not mentioned.

We have not been able to identify the ordained person named Skandar, to whom this prayer is dedicated. The same can be said of the vast majority of the prayers for ordination we are concerned with here.

In contrast, the second poetic prayer published here, the prayer for the ordination of 'Aṭṭāyē, is likely dedicated to a well-known figure of the time (see below, IV.III, poem 2). Found only in one late manuscript in India (APSTCH THRI 57, fol. 115^v), it consists of 23 semi-lines written in seven-syllable meter. Like all such poems, each line ends with a final *-ē*, to rhyme with the name 'Aṭṭāyē. In this case, the long *ā* in the name is labelled with an alaph letter (ܐܬܬܝܝܐ), as is common for the Garshuni orthographic tradition, but not for regular Syriac.

The identification of this man with the aforementioned famous scribe, poet and disciple of 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta is highly probable (see above, Chapter 1, Section 1, and Chapter 2, Section 4). The Indian manuscript seems to go back to the autograph of 'Aṭṭāyē, since it contains his works and the first-person rubric of them (APSTCH THRI 57, fol. 118^r). It is likely that 'Aṭṭāyē retained this poem for his ordination and included it in the manuscript he wrote. This block includes both his poems and those of his teacher 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta (see above, see Chapter 1, Section 1).

Since the text speaks of the administration of the sacraments, it is clear that it refers to the ordination of a priest (see below, IV.III, poem 2, lines 5–10). The poetic prayer explicitly states that the person being ordained had previously served as a deacon (line 6). Now he will be given new gifts, which he must increase in order to win the Lord's favor and an eternal reward (see below, IV.III, poem 2, lines 10–15).

The poetic prayer in question serves as further confirmation that ‘Atṭāyē finally converted to the new Uniate church. Apparently, ‘Abdišō‘ of Gazarta ordained him as a priest.

Text and Translation IV.III. Stanzas (Poetic Canons) for Ordination

[1]

Manuscript used:

– SMMJ 116, fol. 135^r

ድረ ሰማዊ ማርያም:

- | | |
|----|------------------------------------|
| 1 | መሥሪያ ሰማዊ ማርያም ሰጠኝ፡ ለአርባ ስድስት ሰዓታት፡ |
| 5 | መሥሪያ ሰማዊ ማርያም ሰጠኝ፡ ለአርባ ስድስት ሰዓታት፡ |
| 10 | መሥሪያ ሰማዊ ማርያም ሰጠኝ፡ ለአርባ ስድስት ሰዓታት፡ |
| 15 | መሥሪያ ሰማዊ ማርያም ሰጠኝ፡ ለአርባ ስድስት ሰዓታት፡ |

On the name of Skandar

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1 | Christ, who sent the Holy Spirit
to the assembly of the twelve apostles,
and they preached His Gospel in every place,
and turned all nations to the sheepfold |
| 5 | of his faith, and in every place where
they preached and baptized they were glorified,
Choose this servant of Yours, Skandar,
to serve at your honourable altar! |
| 10 | And strengthen him that he may fulfil and keep
Your commandments and guard them!
And when this world passes away,
and its glory ends and ceases, |
| | may he be worthy to receive the dinar ¹⁶⁵ —
to enjoy the blessings and to stay [in them]! |

¹⁶⁵ A gold coin in the Middle East. It is used here as a symbol of a gift instead of the term “talent,” apparently for the sake of the rhyme.

- 15 And may he settle in the chamber of light,
in the place that will never pass away!

[2]

Manuscript used:

– APSTCH THRI 57, fol. 115^v–116^r

❖ ܠܡܨܝܢ ❖ ܕܡܨܝܢ ❖

115^v

1 ܡܥܒܝܢ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܬܝܠܝܢ: ܡܨܝܢ ܬܕܥܡܡܐ ܠܠܗܬܝܢ.
ܠܚܕ ܠܡܨܝܢ ܐܢ ܕܡܨܝܢ: ܠܡܨܝܢ ܕܡܨܝܢ ܠܡܨܝܢ.
5 ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ: ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ.
ܡܨܝܢ ܠܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ: ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ.
10 ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ: ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ.
ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ: ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ.
15 ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ: ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ.
ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ: ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ.
20 ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ: ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ.
116^r ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ: ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ.
ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ: ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ ܡܨܝܢ.

115^v Another one; [on the name of] ‘Attāyē

- 1 Christ, who had pity on sinners,
and justified the robbers in his mercy,
choose thy servant this ‘Attāyē,
as You chose the first,
5 true priests!
And from the rank of deacon
lead him to the rank of priest
To dispense the elixir of life—
Your divine sacraments—
10 to the children of material things.
And may he give birth to spiritual children
from the waters of the Jordan!
And may he add to the three talents,
and make five of them!¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Allusion to Mt 25:14–30. The use of this parable of the talents as an image of ecclesiast-

15 And may he preach and bring home the strangers,
 and be loved by our own ones!
 And let him behave blamelessly
 in Your Church in the proper manner!
 And when You come in the end times
 20 to give reward to the householders,¹⁶⁷
 116^r delight him with those on the right hand,
 in the spiritual chambers
 and eternal blessings!

ical ranks is common in the Syriac tradition, including the *Wardā* hymns (for instance, see Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 437–445).

167 Further allusion to Mt 25:14–30.

Poems Written in ‘Abdišō’s Hand: The Question of Authorship

1 Poems Written in ‘Abdišō’s Hand with Indication of His Authorship (SMMJ 159 and SMMJ 116)

As mentioned above (see Chapter 1, Section 2.2), dozens of poems of varying length and form occur in the manuscripts written by ‘Abdišō’ of Gazarta, alongside the main text of each manuscript. However, with few exceptions, the headings and rubrics of these poems do not specify the author. A comparison with the manuscripts of ‘Abdišō’ of Gazarta’s works in later manuscripts reveals that the vast majority of the poems there do not coincide with those in his autographs. In other words, the same texts very rarely occur in both his autographs and the copies of his works written by later scribes. The question is how to interpret this data.

In the autograph manuscripts SMMJ 116 and SMMJ 159 there are poetic colophons written in ‘Abdišō’ of Gazarta’s hand that mention his name in the first person (see below, Appendix 1, 8; Texts 11.1–11.11). Therefore, their authorship is not in question, as we have examined elsewhere.¹

Manuscript SMMJ 116 was written by ‘Abdišō’ of Gazarta for his own use and was owned by him thereafter. His authorship of the manuscript is attested by the poetic colophon added by him some years later, as well as the numerous user’s notes in his hand, as we have already shown (see Chapter 2, Sections 2 and 6).² On the contrary, SMMJ 159 was in all likelihood written for Ya’qōb, the abbot of the Monastery of Jacob the Recluse near Seert, as its colophon states.³ It was also in this cloister that the scribe resided at that time, as patriarch of the Chaldean Church.

In manuscript SMMJ 159, which contains the largest number of poetic texts written in ‘Abdišō’ of Gazarta’s own hand, the scribe indicates his authorship in only five of these texts, usually with corresponding remarks indicating his

1 See Pritula, “‘Abdišō’ of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a Scribe,” 304–305, 316–320.

2 See Pritula, “‘Abdišō’ of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a Scribe,” 304–305.

3 See Pritula, “‘Abdišō’ of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a Scribe,” 316, 319–320.

authorship, such as “by the scribe” or “by the feeble one” in the headings (see Appendix 1). Of these, there are three non-strophic multiline poems and two quatrains; the multiline pieces are the following (for more detailed information, see Appendix 1, 11):

- Incipit: **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ**
MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 126^r
- Incipit: **ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ**
MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 126^r
- Incipit: **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ**
MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 129^r–131^r

The two quatrains that occur in this manuscript are the following (again, for more detailed information, see Appendix 1, 11):

- Incipit: **ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ**
MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 125^v
- Incipit: **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ**
MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 127^v

We reproduce them below exactly as they are designated in the manuscript. Both poems are written on spiritual and ascetic themes (see Text v.1).

The first one is a riddle, the answer to which seems to be words like “luxury” and “carnal pleasures” (see Text v.1, poem 1).

The second quatrain is also didactic in nature and is most likely intended to be read by monks (see Text v.1, poem 2).

In SMMJ 116, two non-strophic multiline poems in ‘Abdīšō’s hand that each rhyme with a certain name are ascribed “to the scribe,” i.e. to himself (for more detailed information, see Appendix 1, 2):

- Incipit: **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ**
MS: SMMJ 116, 1554, fol. 120^r–120^v
- Incipit: **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܐ**
MS: SMMJ 116, 1554, fol. 120^v

These poems seem meant to be meant performed on the corresponding occasions, whether on the ordination of a priest or the Feast of the Consecration of the Church.

*Text and Translation v.1. Poems Written in ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta’s
Hand with Indication of His Authorship*

[1]

Manuscript used:

- SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 125^v–126^r

at the beginning of each month. It has been briefly examined in Murre-van den Berg's book⁴ and we plan a special study of these texts, with an edition and translation, in the future. These stanzas were probably intended for worship in monasteries. This may explain their limited presence in liturgical manuscripts. In addition to 'Abḏišō' of Gazarta, the authors of these short hymns include his teacher Aḇrāhām of Bēt Slōk and Aḇrāhām's nephew Gabriel of Bēt Slōk.⁵ In manuscript SMMJ 159 written by 'Abḏišō' of Gazarta, some stanzas of this rite are ascribed to Aḇrāhām of Bēt Slōk, while others are left anonymous (SMMJ 159, fol. 134^v–135^r). From the numerous manuscripts containing them, we know that the latter can be ascribed to 'Abḏišō' of Gazarta and thus there is no reason to doubt his authorship of them. Nevertheless, the question remains as to why the author did not indicate that he was the author of these stanzas. However, as noted above, he did identify his authorship in several other works in this manuscript, and additionally he identified Aḇrāhām's authorship in the verses from the same *Rite of Months*. Moreover, the two anonymous stanzas from this ritual are found in other manuscripts, so their authorship is uncertain (see Appendix 1 below).

Among the poems written in 'Abḏišō' of Gazarta's hand in SMMJ 159, there is a *mēmṛā* on exile that is discussed below (see Text v.II).⁶ In the autograph, it does not have any attribution and is thus technically anonymous. However, it occurs in another manuscript, written several centuries later, where it is ascribed to 'Abḏišō' (see Appendix 1, 2). These examples confirm that the poet, as a scribe, did not indicate his authorship in all cases, but it is still an enigma what guided him to do so or not in each case. Thus, it is unclear why this particular text has no attribution in the autograph, unlike several of the aforementioned poems in the same manuscript.

This poem is close in content to the other poems written in 'Abḏišō' of Gazarta's hand in SMMJ 159. It is part of a kind of didactic-ascetic anthology, probably intended for reading in a monastery. This is not surprising, given that it was written for the abbot of a monastery.

The two quatrains from the same manuscript, rendered here above, are of the same content and obviously belong to the same didactic-ascetic poetry collection. They do not differ much from dozens of other quatrains written alongside them. However, unlike the others, in these two cases the scribe chose to indicate his authorship, as noted above, but as of yet we have no definite explanation for why he did so.

4 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 151, 236, 321, 327.

5 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 151, 321, 327.

6 A. Pritula, "A poem on exile by 'Abḏišō' of Gāzartā," *XB* 9 [xv] (2021): 131–140.

One of these texts is also a poem on exile (see Text v.1) that occurs in SMMJ 159 (fol. 117^r–118^v), where it is called ܠܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܥܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ("Lamentation about Exile"). It also occurs in BnF syr. 434 (fol. 201^v–203^r), presumably from the 16th century (or slightly later, from the 17th century), a manuscript that contains a number of East Syriac theological and liturgical texts.⁷ Nevertheless, this says very little about the extent of the text's circulation. No systematic manuscript search for it has been made so far; such a search might well be fruitless, given how many manuscripts were destroyed over the succeeding centuries. Most importantly, the poem occurs outside of 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta's autograph, where it is ascribed to him. This leaves no doubts as to its attribution. On the other hand, the textual discrepancies between these manuscripts raise some unusual questions concerning the priority of each form of the text. On the one hand, an autograph would normally have priority as the best version of the text over later copies. However, in this particular case, we do not know the status of the former. It could have been an initial draft of the poet, in which he wrote down the first version of his compositions, in order to work on them later. Since the poetic texts are found either on flyleaves or after the main text of the corpus, this is not unlikely.

Manuscript BnF syr. 434 (fol. 204^r–205^r) also contains other pieces by 'Abdīšō', such as an ode in honor of Pope Paul IV (see Chapter 3, Section 1.1; Text III.1);⁸ thus, there is no doubt that it was written within the Chaldean Church. The textual discrepancies with the autograph are substantial, although not very numerous. Thus, a line is added between lines 2 and 3 of the autograph, as shown in the apparatus below; line 11 also shows a significant variation in the text. In these cases, BnF syr. 434 could either contain later scribal additions or the author's final redaction. It is impossible to reconstruct the evolution of the text, having just an autograph of an uncertain status and a later manuscript. In places like line 17 (see below), the Paris manuscript likely reflects a scribal error, since it is very unlikely that the same word ܐܝܬܐ ("brothers") would be repeated twice in the internal rhyme of the same line.

Therefore, we have chosen the text of the autograph SMMJ 159 as the main text, but this does not mean that BnF syr. 434 does not contain readings made at a later stage by the author himself.

From the standpoint of poetic technic, the text is a non-strophic monorhyme poem (see below) that contains 52 poetic lines of 12 syllables each (4 + 4 + 4). The division of the lines into three feet each is regularly supported graphically (in both manuscripts) by two dots set vertically, as usual in such

7 For a detailed description, see Briquel-Chatonnet, *Manuscripts syriaques*, 178–183.

8 See Pritula, "Abdīšō' of Gāzartā, the First Literate of the Chaldean Church," 377–381.

metrical patterns. The first two feet of each line are rhymed, with a rhyme that is different in each line. The last, third foot of each line has a general end-rhyme in *-īrā*, resulting in a monorhyme structure. It is quite regular, as is even mentioned in the title of the poem in BnF syr. 434 (see below, in the apparatus). The title of the text in the autograph does not mention any genre form, whereas in BnF syr. 434, the poem is called a homily (West Syriac *mīmro*; East Syriac *mēmra*), which is usually a long non-strophic poem.

The motif of complaint about exile was rather popular in the Syriac literature of the late period. It was Originally borrowed from the Persian poetic tradition, where it was a part of the lyrical canon of a “complaint” poem (شکایت). The motif of exile became especially popular in lyrical poetry from the 13th and 14th centuries, for instance in the *ghazals* of Khājū-yi Kirmānī (1280–1352).⁹ The first Syriac poet to introduce this motif was apparently Khāmīs bar Qārdāḥē in the late 13th century (see above, Chapter 2, Section 2), who left behind poetic pieces dedicated to his native city of Arbela (Erbil, North Iraq).¹⁰

A later Syriac poem on exile is a lengthy piece by David Puniqoyo (Puniqāyā)—a well-known West Syriac poet from the 15th century—published by Aaron Butts.¹¹ Although it has a strophic structure, the text is called a homily; it consists of 261 stanzas, each of which has four 12-syllable lines. Every stanza has its own rhyme at the end of each line. As pointed out by Butts, the term *exile* (ܡܥܬܪܐ) has an allegorical and mystical meaning in the text, namely that of living outside the Paradise of Eden, itself a reference to living outside of a monastic setting.¹²

There are also stanzas on exile by ‘Abdīšō‘, an East Syriac bishop of Ātēl, six 12-syllable poems which are a later addition to the same manuscript under discussion (SMMJ 159, fol. 130^v–131^r).¹³ these verses were composed on one of the author’s numerous visits to Jerusalem, in 1643/4, as mentioned in the poem’s title.¹⁴ Most likely, this text combines both his personal experience, namely

9 M.L. Reysner, *Evolutsiya klassicheskoy gazeli na farsi (x–xiv veka)* [Эволюция классической газели на фарси (x–xiv века)] (M.: Nauka, GRVL, 1989), 175–177.

10 For his poem on exile, see Pritula, A.D., “Kāmīs bar Qardākhē (kon. XIII v.) i arbelskiy literaturnyy krug [Kāmīs бар Кардākhē (кон. XIII в.) и арбельский литературный круг],” *KHV* 6 [XII] (2013): 216–243 (here: 219, 226–227).

11 A.M. Butts, “The Afflictions of Exile: A Syriac Memrā by David Puniqāyā,” *Le Muséon* 122 (1–2) (2009): 53–80.

12 Butts, “The Afflictions of Exile,” 54.

13 A. Pritula, “From Tigris to Jerusalem: East Syriac Poetic Notes from the Ottoman Time,” *Hugoye* (1) (2019): 199–203.

14 Pritula, “From Tigris to Jerusalem,” 199; ‘Abdīšō‘ of Ātēl and the manuscripts copied by him are discussed in an article by Grigory Kessel (Kessel, “A little-known manuscript”).

being far from his home city, with the aforementioned mystical allegories. Such a combination of different semantic layers—both everyday and mystical ones—is very characteristic of the traditional poetry of the Middle East, especially that which developed in the Muslim era under Sufi influence.

‘Abdišo‘ of Gazarta’s poem on exile (see Text v.I) in all likelihood arose from similar circumstances. As described above, the author traveled much during different periods of his life (see Chapter 1, Section 1),¹⁵ which likely impacted his poetry. In particular, the spiritual layer of the poem becomes obvious in its last part (see Text v.I, stanzas 38–52). Interestingly enough, the overall imagery of this text is rather similar to the poem “On a Grave,” written on behalf of a dead man. In both cases, the situation is described in terms of loneliness, departure from friends and relatives, humiliation and being despised by others.¹⁶ The end of such poems is common: praise to God, who is able to save from exile in his kingdom of heaven.

Text and Translation v.II. Poem on Exile by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

Manuscripts used:

- A: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 117^v–119^r (base manuscript)
- B: BNF Syr. 434, 16th–17th cent., fol. 201^v–203^r

[illegible]

15 His numerous travels are evident even from the colophons of the manuscripts he produced. For instance, see Pritula, “Abdišō’ of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a Scribe.”

16 For instance, see a hymn on the grave in the *Wardā* hymnological collection (Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 350–355).

17 B: $\text{مِنْ مَعْدَنَ ذَوِّلْبَدَنَ بَلْ أَجْمَعُ مَقَامَهُ مَحَقَّقَاتُ: تَجَلَّ مَوْجِدُهُ: حَلَّاهُ أَهْلَهُ مَخْلُوبُ تَفَدُ} \\ \text{هَذِهِ مَوْلَا: وَتَجَدُّ لَحْمَهُ لَقَدْ لَعَنَ عَدُوُّهُ تَهْلُكَةُ: تَطْلَعُ دَهْلُهُ} \\ \text{و}$

18 B: + ❖ دَافِعُ : لَمْ يَدْفَعْ : دَفَعَ : دَفْعًا

19 B: ١٢٣

20 B: om. **a**

119^r
 45
 50

117^vLamentation about Exile²⁷118^r

- 1 I have attempted once again with a broken heart to bring out
 a tale about exile, but I became dismayed, like a dazed one.
 How could a simple mouth narrate its torments and concerns?
 They go far beyond any word of a skilled man of letters.
 5 In exile, all sweetness is bitter to me.
 And after consideration, this has proven to be true, and is real to me.
 Its scream becomes frequent, its weeping increases, its happy thing is
 sad.
 And the grief of the heart surrounds it on all sides,
 since he has finished his days and ended his hours, he is dead [and] bur-
 ied.
 10 And as it is separated from its friends, as mentioned,
 his vigilant mind has become like a mute animal,
 like a drunkard that has drunk wine, blurred and impure.
 Woe to the wretched one, whom he loved, and woe to the one in whom
 is affliction.
 And his soul meditates in pain and anxiety, like a captive.
 15 (How) terrible is separation from all the next of kin, and this is tested
 by every intelligent one, full of understanding, skilled and learned.
 Love that cannot be erased, which has loved the brothers, is hidden in
 the soul.²⁸

26 B: **مبني**27 B: Lament homily on exile, its grieves and difficulties; [each line] in three feet, and all its lines ending with *yod*, *resh* and *alaph*; composed by 'Abdīšō', the Catholicos; on the second reading.

28 Or: in oneself.

And its image²⁹ is painted on the tablet of the body and spirit.

Its food is bitter, its dough is cold, like unleavened bread.

20 And its dream is shameful and its nothingness is true, and all of it is evil-smelling.

Its dwelling is hard, its seat is dark, without a torch.

A snare hunts the one who walks in it with unclear sight.

It is completely full of fatigue, anxiety, and much disgrace.

118^v Like he who has drunk its wine and inhabits it for a long time.

25 Therefore a perfect man is not able to talk about it.

Since tears flow, his strength weakens, and he remains dazed.

From being considered the bread of one who seems a raving lunatic.

Although that man has a mallet in his hands, his soul is compressed.

Its light is in darkness, its night is long to the eye of the vigilant.

30 And the trouble is manifold, and the prisoner is anxious, the soul is awake.

Its fullness is scarcity, its drunkenness is thirst, and its bread is begging.

Its healthy one is sick, and his movements are forgotten, like the unconscious one.

His eyes weep, his tears pour forth and over him is violence.

A cloud of grief, a multitude of evils is prepared for him.

35 He is separated from the brothers, and he has no rest in the inhabited world.

And at every moment he is agitated by the wind, like the grass.

A ray of the sun is considered evening by him, and by it he is bound.

And his soul, weary, suffering and clothed, is captured and despised.

Fearful, foreign, and stabbed and pierced with the spear of sorrow.

40 And like aloes in his mouth, the quail is remembered.

The Exalted One, whose word is hidden in His essence that is perfect, whose being fills his creation into amazement and wonder,

glorious is the Lord, who wondrously painted with His finger

119^r the creation that He created and tied up like a knot with His arm.

45 Let us offer up praise, and shout out thanksgiving with a song of songs

To He who is able to approach and withdraw with a marvelous sign.

Come, let us give thanks to Him for the gift provided for us.

And let us glorify Him, as becomes Him who is true.

Return to the Glorious One (whom) the soul glorifies and is amazed by,

50 and offers up praise in the outstretched body, in which it is a captive.

29 Or: scripture.

Thanksgiving and worship and new praise like a hymn
 Let us offer up to the Father and the Son and the Spirit with honor.

3 Short Poems in the Manuscript of the *Metrical Grammar* (DCA 65)

3.1 *Overview of the Poems*

ʿAbdīšōʿ of Gazarta copied a manuscript of Bar ʿEbrōyō's *Metrical Grammar* (DCA 65, Chaldean Diocese of Alqosh) in Mardin in 1553 (see above, Chapter 2, Section 3, Figs. 3, 4, 5), based on West Syriac manuscripts and with the help of West Syriac monks of the monasteries near Mardin, as mentioned by the scribe himself. The manuscript also contains a number of short poems, mostly quatrains, all of which are connected with the topic of reading, writing and studying grammar. As will be argued below, some of these poems were borrowed from the verse collections of other poets, but others may have been composed by the scribe himself.³⁰

In the present section, we discuss short verse pieces that were copied by ʿAbdīšōʿ of Gazarta in DCA 65 (see Chapter 2, Section 3, Figs. 3, 4, 5).³¹ As noted above, the main text this manuscript contains is the *Metrical Grammar* by Bar ʿEbrōyō,³² one of the most popular works by this West Syriac Encyclopedist.³³ This copy, copied in 1552 in Mardin, is unique in the sense of its circulation history, as well as the numerous additions made by different persons in different periods.³⁴ As is clear from the manuscript colophon and scribal notes, ʿAbdīšōʿ

30 See A. Pritula, "Reading and Writing on Reading and Writing: Short Poetry on Flyleaves in a Manuscript of the *Metrical Grammar* (DCA 65)," *Scrinium: Journal of Patrology and Critical Hagiography* 17 (2021): 255–273.

31 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/500565>.

32 See the two editions of this work: *Gregorii Bar Hebraei; Oeuvres grammaticales*.

33 Over one hundred manuscripts of the work are known at present. On the extant manuscripts and editions, see Takahashi, *Barhebraeus: A Bio-Bibliography*, 358–373. On this text and the features of its copies, see Farina, "La Grammatica Metrica di Barhebraeus," 107–125.

For the most recent list of extant MSS of the *Metrical Grammar*, see Farina, "Manuscripts de grammaires et lexiques syriaques," 245. For a detailed study on the layout of the manuscripts of this work and the glosses found in them, see Farina, "Barhebraeus' *Metrical Grammar*." Farina has also pointed out that the two-column layout (just like in both DCA 65 and CCM 24) was rather typical for early manuscripts of this work (Farina, "Barhebraeus' *Metrical Grammar*," 349, footnote 24). See also Farina, "The Syro-Arabic Glosses to Barhebraeus' *Metrical Grammar*."

34 Pritula, "ʿAbdīšōʿ of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a Scribe." On other pieces composed by him and his contemporaries and companions, see Vosté, "Mar Iohannan

of Gazarta used the West Syriac manuscripts as a *Vorlage* and was in contact with monks from nearby West Syriac monasteries (see above, Chapter 2, Section 3).

The poems composed by the priest Ṭalyā in the 18th century and added to DCA 65 are discussed in a different section of this study (see below, Chapter 6, Sections 4.2–4.3; Texts VI.IV–VI.V).³⁵ The present section of our study discusses merely small poems, quatrains and slightly longer poems, copied by ‘Abdīšō‘ himself—his hand can be easily recognized now—between larger texts and on flyleaves. Thematically, this poetry can be divided into two blocks, each of them discussed here in the corresponding sections: *Block A* contains pieces on reading, studying grammar, and scribal activities (see below, Table 5 and Text v.11), while *Block B* comprises poems on different topics ascribed in various manuscripts to Bar ‘Ebrōyō (see Table 6 below).

Block B seems to be quite logical in a manuscript of works by this West Syriac author, even if it is a later addition to it. The origin and nature of *Block A* is much more difficult to characterize.

3.2 *Block A: Poems on Reading and Copying Books*

Most of the poems of this block were copied by ‘Aṭṭāyē in CCM 24 (see above, Chapter 2, Section 4; Fig. 6), who was using ‘Abdīšō’s DCA 65 as a *Vorlage* for copying the manuscript of the *Metrical Grammar* (see above, Chapter 2, Section 3; Fig. 11).³⁶ Interestingly, the original layout of the pieces is entirely retained in ‘Aṭṭāyē’s copy. The same is true of the titles of poems, wherever they occur (for instance, see Table 5; Text v.III, No. 3, 6–10, 12). All the poems of this block are listed in Table 5 below.

An important question is whether the main text of the manuscript, the *Metrical Grammar*, influenced the poetic additions. In other words, was their presence in the manuscript logical or not. As pointed out by Margherita Farina, the glosses and scholia to the metrical text, containing linguistic explanations of the treatise, were initially created by Bar ‘Ebrōyō himself,³⁷ but many additions by scribes and users appeared later on, some of them on flyleaves.³⁸ It is also worth mentioning that in the manuscript under discussion produced by

Soulaqa”; Pritula, “‘Abdīšō‘ of Gāzartā, the First Literate of the Chaldean Church”; Pritula, “East Syriac Literary Life.”

35 See also Pritula, “From Tigris to Jerusalem.”

36 See Pritula, “‘Abdīšō‘ of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a Scribe.”

37 Farina, “Barhebraeus’ Metrical Grammar,” 350.

38 Farina, “Barhebraeus’ Metrical Grammar,” 350–351.

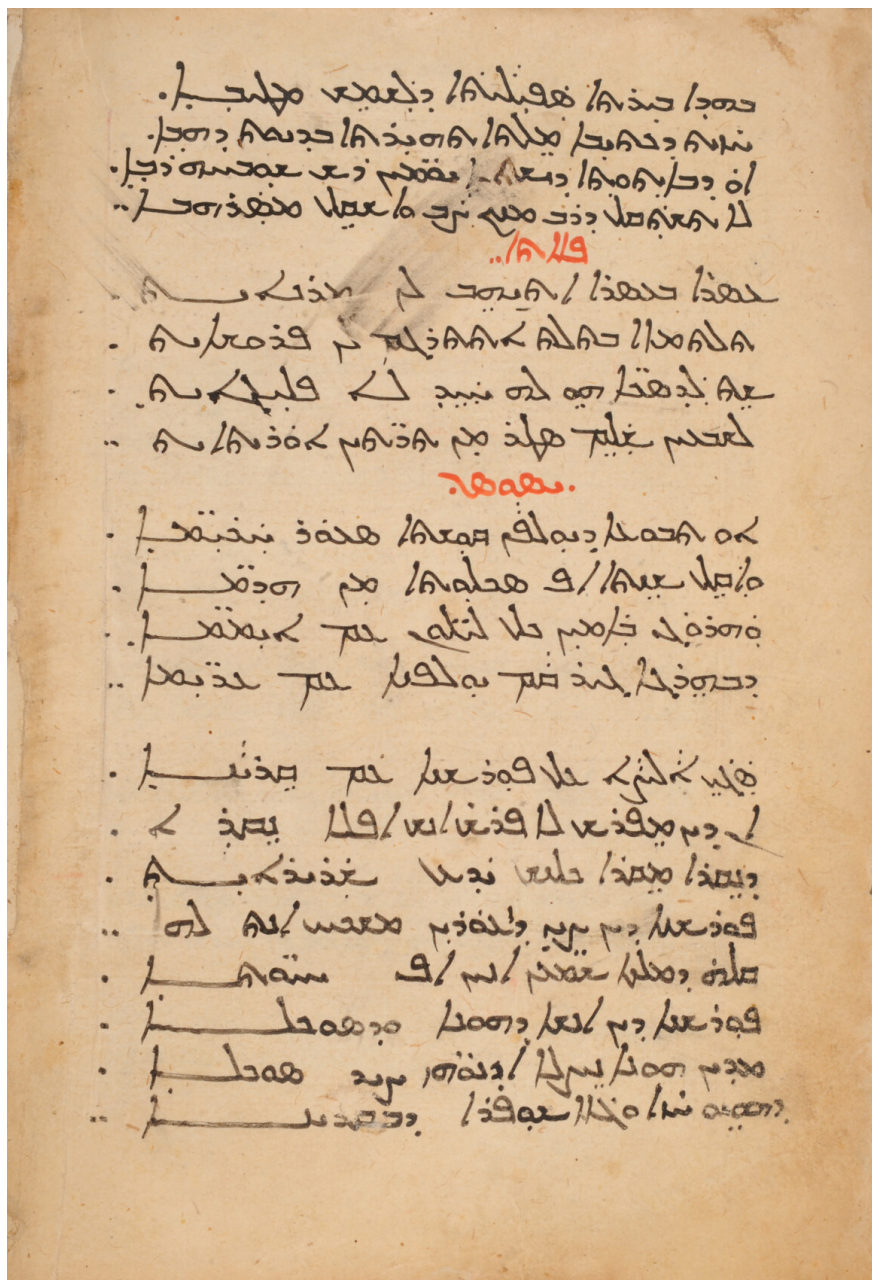


FIGURE 11 DCA 65; 1553, *Metrical Grammar* by Bar 'Ebrōyō; Chaldean Diocese of Alqosh; fol. 5v, four short poems on grammar written in 'Abdišō of Gazarta's hand

TABLE 5 Block A: Short Poems in DCA 65 and CCM 24 on Reading and Writing

Number in Block A	Folio number in DCA 65	Folio number in CCM 24	Incipit	Number of lines, syllables per line
1	fol. 3 ^r		ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	4 lines, 12 syllables
2	fol. 3 ^v	fol. 3 ^v	ܠܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ	4 lines, 12 syllables
3	fol. 3 ^v	fol. 3 ^v	ܠܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ	4 lines, 7 syllables
4	fol. 4 ^r		ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	6 lines, 12 syllables
5	fol. 5 ^r	fol. 3 ^v	ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	4 lines, 12 syllables
6	fol. 5 ^r	fol. 3 ^v	ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	4 lines, 12 syllables
7	fol. 5 ^r	fol. 3 ^v	ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	4 lines, 7 syllables
8	fol. 5 ^r	fol. 3 ^v	ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	4 lines, 7 syllables
9	fol. 5 ^r	fol. 3 ^v	ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	4 lines, 7 syllables
10	fol. 5 ^r	fol. 4 ^r	ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	4 lines, 7 syllables
11	fol. 5 ^v	fol. 2 ^r	ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	4 lines, 12 syllables
12	fol. 5 ^v	fol. 2 ^r	ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	4 lines, 12 syllables
13	fol. 5 ^v	fol. 2 ^r	ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	4 lines, 12 syllables
14	fol. 5 ^v	fol. 2 ^r	ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	8 lines, 12 syllables
15	fol. 114 ^v		ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	4 lines, 12 syllables
16	fol. 141 ^r		ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	4 lines, 12 syllables
17	fol. 142 ^r		ܡܬܢ ܠܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ ܡܬܢ	6 lines, 12 syllables

‘Abdišō‘ of Gazarta, there are numerous notes on the flyleaves in both Syriac and Arabic with linguistic explanations made in the copyist’s hand (DCA 65, fol. 6^r–7^r, 146^r–148^r). Thus, due to the character of the text stimulating new commentaries of different kinds, the *Metrical Grammar* was accompanied by various additional texts which are more or less connected to it in terms of content.

From the standpoint of content, the poems in this block (see Text v.III) can be divided into two groups: 1) poems on learning grammar (and “correctness of speech”) and reading books (No. 2, 3, 4–9, 12–17), which constitutes the majority; and 2) poems on scribal activities (No. 1, 10, 11).

As to the first group, on grammar, some of the poems directly praise grammar and its importance (No. 2, 3, 6, 7). One of them compares grammar to a ship in the sea of knowledge (No. 2):

Grammar is a ship in the sea of knowledge
that instructs sailors and divers.
And since it sinks even before people reach the shore,
Hurry up and sail it, oh adept one!

In two other poems, grammar is compared to a bridge to knowledge:³⁹

Grammar is a bridge to all knowledge,
and without it one has not crossed the river of wisdom.
(see Text V.III, No. 6).

Grammar is like a bridge
to knowledge, oh virtuous one.
No one can cross [without it],
since there is no ford in the whole river (see Text V.III, No. 7).

The significance of grammar for correct understanding and perception of information contained in texts is thus emphasized. It is worth mentioning that the Syriac word for “grammar” is spelled in these poems in two different ways: ܡܠܟܬܐ (No. 2, 3), and ܡܠܬܐ (No. 6, 7); both spellings used in the *Vorlage* (DCA 65) are retained by the copyist of CCM 24 in the corresponding places.

One of the quatrains, which begins this whole block of poems and focuses on the activities of scribes, reminds us of the need to test the ink and writing stick, which *the scribe must carry out before beginning to write* (see Text V.III, No. 1):

Oh scribe, test the ink and the reed first,
so that you may not be reproached by those who doubt your writing.
A soul that acquires friends without a trial,
wanders in delusion, and despite working, gains no profits.

It is probably significant that in both lists, where this quatrain is marked, it is located on the front flyleaf, adjacent to test strokes, obviously representing a sample of *qalam* (i.e., a reed pen) and ink. It is likely that such a technique, prefacing the text, was common in this period among the scribes of Gazarta and nearby towns. Thus, scribes like 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta would create a poetic text appropriate for the occasion. The quatrain is didactic in nature, which is common for works of this type, drawing a parallel between scribal practice and the ethical problem of making friends.

39 A ship is a common trope in the Syriac literary and scribal tradition, though it is more often used in colophons, comparing the “scribe's completion of his task to a ship reaching harbor” (T.A. Carlson, “Formulaic Prose? Rhetoric and Meaning in Late Medieval Syriac Manuscript Colophons,” *Hugoye* 18.2 (2015): 385); see also S.P. Brock, “The Scribe Reaches Harbour,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 21 (1995): 198–201.

Quatrain No. 12 is an enigma that alludes to the name of ܝܫܘܥ (Jesus). Since it is connected to writing and the alphabet, it can be treated as referring to the same topic of studying and writing. Each line mentions the numerical value of one of the four letters of this name, 10, 300, 6 and 70 respectively (see Text v.III, No. 12).

"Ten" is given to us authoritatively in the Ten.

"Three hundred" has wisely preached to us about the Three.

"Six" has united His sides inseparably.

To the "Seventy," without the Two, He delivered the Law.⁴⁰

As can be seen, each number alludes to certain biblical events. Thus, the first letter of the name, with the numerical value of ten, might be an allusion to the Ten Commandments. Three hundred have "preached about the Three," i.e. about the Trinity; this may be an allusion to the 318 participants at the Council of Nicaea ("the Nicene fathers"). The six could mean the traditional elements according to medieval natural philosophy. "The Seventy without the two" may be a possible allusion to the seventy disciples of Christ that are often listed in the Syriac tradition as seventy-two.

Quatrain No. 5—still a part of the "grammatical" collection—discusses the use of correct speech and praises it in various metaphors. In fact, the poet uses a method that is well-known in Arabic and Persian poetry, called *tajnīs*.⁴¹ The reader needs to distinguish and correctly interpret numerous homographs. Each line of the poem has its own chain of such words. This method borrowed from neighboring Muslim poetic traditions is very suitable for a poem that discusses the importance of correct speech. Representing a rather uneasy reading, it requires the readers' learning and good knowledge of Syriac grammar.

Even more puzzling is quatrain No. 10, which seemingly has nothing to do with the motif of reading and writing. Instead, it looks like a description of different periods of human life, namely young age and old age (see Text v.III, No. 10). In fact, the second semantic layer is apparently connected with writing activities. The subject of the piece, as it turns out, is an ink-well. When full, it can be easily used by a scribe, but when the ink is nearly finished, it is very hard to extract and requires a special instrument. Such a verse may also be characterized as a riddle or a parable. Polysemy of certain words is here used as a poetic method. Thus, the word ܕܡܚܬܐ, which has many meanings, such as

⁴⁰ I.e., the Old Testament.

⁴¹ See Shams ad-Din Mukhammad ibn Kays ar-Razi, 214–216.

"funnel, metal-caster, vessel for pouring oil into a lamp" is also used here as a producer of ܡܚܚܝܬ ("manuscript"), from the same root, i.e. a scribe, literally a "pourer [of ink]," which is quite unusual in the new context, connected as it is with scribal activities.

Studying this short (though extremely intriguing) text-block raises more questions, concerning both the methodology and the history of its creation. Since the scribe obviously still owned this copy, which he may have written for himself,⁴² he was able to write these poems at different times, not all at once. It is not clear whether the poems were collected by him from different places, copied from a different source, composed by himself, or perhaps somehow a combination of the above. We might ask the same question concerning the numerous collections of short poems that were circulating at the time in various manuscripts, often written in addition to the main text being copied. If 'Abdīšō of Gazarta indeed produced the manuscript for himself and owned it for years, there was no need for him to mention his authorship of specific poems.

One may assume that 'Abdīšō' copied and collected those short poems that seemed worthwhile to him, including five poems (No. 5–10) that were apparently composed by Khāmīs bar Qardaḥē (late 13th century). The attribution to Khāmīs is very likely, because they appear in the earliest manuscripts of his book: CCM 419, dated to 1395 (fol. 236^r),⁴³ and Vat. Sir. 186, datable to the 16th century (fol. 219^r). All five pieces from Khāmīs were also included in the printed edition of his work that was published in Dahuk.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, they have never been studied or translated. Interestingly, even the order of these pieces is constant in all extant manuscripts; the order is also preserved in 'Abdīšō's manuscript.

One more poem (No. 13) is ascribed to Bar 'Ebrōyō, at least in Or. 298, kept in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence and dated to 1487/8,⁴⁵ which means the piece was circulating before DCA 65 was copied. It was not included in printed editions and was first published by Marianna Mazzola in an article that specifically discusses the Florence manuscript.⁴⁶ Another question, which we are unable to answer at present is whether 'Abdīšō' picked up Bar 'Ebrōyō's

42 See Pritula, "'Abdīšō' of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a Scribe."

43 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/132538>.

44 *Ḳāmīs bar Qardāḥē, Mēmre w-Mušḥāthā*, 342.

45 H. Takahashi, "The Poems of Barhebraeus: A Preliminary Concordance," *XB* 6 [XII] (2013): 125.

46 M. Mazzola, "Alcuni poemi di Barhebraeus e Bar Ma'dani nella redazione del ms. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Orientale 298," *EVO* 35 (2013): 83.

poems from the West Syriac manuscripts to which he had access,⁴⁷ or whether these texts were already circulating in the East Syriac tradition.

Despite the fact that some of the poems in Block A were written by others, ‘Abdišō’ of Gazarta, as a poet, is very likely to have added some new pieces on the same subjects addressed by Khāmīs and others. DCA 65 is thus a combination of copying existing texts and composing new ones on similar topics, inspired by reading the former. Such text-collections may have been in a state of permanent formation and development, combined with copying. This was also caused by the manner in which they circulated, namely, beyond codification, on flyleaves as minor additions to the main text. That is presumably how similar short-text-collections were appearing and circulating, which is, in general, very typical of the medieval book tradition, which featured imitation and competition in developing and describing certain topics and literary motifs.

Text and Translation v.III. Poems on Reading and Writing (DCA 65)

[1]

Manuscript used:

– DCA 65, fol. 3^r

ܡܫܝܬ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ⁴⁸
 ܡܫܝܬ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܡܫܝܬ.
 ܕܠܐ ܡܫܝܬ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ.
 ܡܫܝܬ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܡܫܝܬ.
 ܡܫܝܬ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܡܫܝܬ.

Testing of the Black Ink⁴⁹

Oh scribe, test the ink and the reed first,
 so that you may not be reproached by those who doubt your writing.⁵⁰
 A soul that acquires friends without a trial,
 wanders in delusion, and despite working, gains no profits.⁵¹

47 See Pritula, “‘Abdišō’ of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a Scribe.”

48 In the same hand, above the poem: ܡܫܝܬ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܡܫܝܬ.

49 The same rubric is given also in Arabic.

50 Or: in the middle of your writing.

51 Or: acts inappropriately.

[2]

Manuscripts used:

- A: DCA 65, fol. 3^v
- B: CCM 24, fol. 3^v

١. ٢. ٣. ٤. ٥. ٦. ٧. ٨. ٩. ١٠. ١١. ١٢. ١٣. ١٤. ١٥. ١٦. ١٧. ١٨. ١٩. ٢٠. ٢١. ٢٢. ٢٣. ٢٤. ٢٥. ٢٦. ٢٧. ٢٨. ٢٩. ٣٠. ٣١. ٣٢. ٣٣. ٣٤. ٣٥. ٣٦. ٣٧. ٣٨. ٣٩. ٤٠. ٤١. ٤٢. ٤٣. ٤٤. ٤٥. ٤٦. ٤٧. ٤٨. ٤٩. ٥٠. ٥١. ٥٢. ٥٣. ٥٤. ٥٥. ٥٦. ٥٧. ٥٨. ٥٩. ٦٠. ٦١. ٦٢. ٦٣. ٦٤. ٦٥. ٦٦. ٦٧. ٦٨. ٦٩. ٧٠. ٧١. ٧٢. ٧٣. ٧٤. ٧٥. ٧٦. ٧٧. ٧٨. ٧٩. ٨٠. ٨١. ٨٢. ٨٣. ٨٤. ٨٥. ٨٦. ٨٧. ٨٨. ٨٩. ٩٠. ٩١. ٩٢. ٩٣. ٩٤. ٩٥. ٩٦. ٩٧. ٩٨. ٩٩. ١٠٠.

Grammar is a ship in the sea of knowledge
 that instructs sailors and divers.
 And since it sinks even before people reach the shore,
 Hurry up and ride on it, oh adept one!

[3]

Manuscripts used:

- A: DCA 65, fol. 3^v
- B: CCM 24, fol. 3^v

١. ٢. ٣. ٤. ٥. ٦. ٧. ٨. ٩. ١٠. ١١. ١٢. ١٣. ١٤. ١٥. ١٦. ١٧. ١٨. ١٩. ٢٠. ٢١. ٢٢. ٢٣. ٢٤. ٢٥. ٢٦. ٢٧. ٢٨. ٢٩. ٣٠. ٣١. ٣٢. ٣٣. ٣٤. ٣٥. ٣٦. ٣٧. ٣٨. ٣٩. ٤٠. ٤١. ٤٢. ٤٣. ٤٤. ٤٥. ٤٦. ٤٧. ٤٨. ٤٩. ٥٠. ٥١. ٥٢. ٥٣. ٥٤. ٥٥. ٥٦. ٥٧. ٥٨. ٥٩. ٦٠. ٦١. ٦٢. ٦٣. ٦٤. ٦٥. ٦٦. ٦٧. ٦٨. ٦٩. ٧٠. ٧١. ٧٢. ٧٣. ٧٤. ٧٥. ٧٦. ٧٧. ٧٨. ٧٩. ٨٠. ٨١. ٨٢. ٨٣. ٨٤. ٨٥. ٨٦. ٨٧. ٨٨. ٨٩. ٩٠. ٩١. ٩٢. ٩٣. ٩٤. ٩٥. ٩٦. ٩٧. ٩٨. ٩٩. ١٠٠.

Another one

All who have not read grammar,
 spend their lives in vain,
 as the eminent have proved,
 and scholars have tested.

[4]

Manuscript used:

- DCA 65, fol. 4^r

52
 ܕܝܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ
 ܕܝܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ
 ܕܝܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ
 ܕܝܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ
 ܕܝܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ
 ܕܝܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ

Glory to Your Name, O Glorious one!

Like thunder, books cry out about the darkness of the world.
 And all those who are bound to it are deceived by delusion.
 But those who hate it graze on the meadow in heaven.
 Those who drink from his abundance have boldness.
 That is, they desire to reach the height of prophecy,
 And up above it and being brought in, there to spring up.

[5]

Manuscripts used:

- A: DCA 65, fol. 5^r
- B: CCM 24, fol. 3^v

ܕܝܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ
 ܕܝܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ
 ܕܝܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ
 ܕܝܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ

Correctness of speech fills up lack in the heart.
 And as waves consume fire in hay and reveal,
 Thus, it opens wonderful senses to the senseless ones,
 as it [enables] those who are foolish and distrustful.

[6]

Manuscripts used:

- A: DCA 65, fol. 5^r
- B: CCM 24, fol. 3^v

52 Written in a different hand in black ink.

[9]

Manuscripts used:

- A: DCA 65, fol. 5^r
- B: CCM 24, fol. 3^v

:סג

הַשִּׁיבֵנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
וְהַשִּׁיבֵנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

On the same [subject]

Excellent indeed is correctness of speech,
since it provides a foolish one with eloquence.
And it is extremely sublime, oh, eloquent one,
lest a man stray in speech.

[10]

Manuscripts used:

- A: DCA 65, fol. 5^r
- B: CCM 24, fol. 4^r

:סג

הַשִּׁיבֵנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
וְהַשִּׁיבֵנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

By the same one

In infancy, with a funnel
and a lapper he gains his grasp.
And in old age, with a syringe
he derives [it] from underneath with difficulty.

[11]

Manuscripts used:

- A: DCA 65, fol. 5^v (Fig. 11)
- B: CCM 24, fol. 2^r (Fig. 6)

[illegible]

In this sapphire palace that is prepared by the sun,
I saw amazing words written in golden ink.
Oh (one) whose glory increased with the essence of seven days,
Do not lift yourself up, since a greater (one) than you has come and
departed hastily.

[12]

Manuscripts used:

- A: DCA 65, fol. 5^v (Fig. 11)
- B: CCM 24, fol. 2^r (Fig. 6)

[illegible]

Parable

“Ten” is given to us authoritatively in the Ten.
 “Three hundred” has wisely preached to us about the Three.
 “Six” has united His sides inseparably.
 To the “Seventy,” without the Two, He delivered the Law.⁵³

[13]

Manuscripts used:

- A: DCA 65, fol. 5^v (Fig. 11)
- B: CCM 24, fol. 2^r (Fig. 6)
- C: Or. 298, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, fol. 104^v

ܡܫܝܚܐ.

ܐܘ ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܫܠܬܐ ܫܚܝܬܐ: ܫܠܬܐ ܝܥܝܬܐ ܕܐܝ ܫܝܠܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܝܬܐ.
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܬܝܬܝܐ ܠܬܠܡܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ: ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܬܡ ܡܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܬܝܬܐ.

Jesus

Oh, seeker of the learning of Truth, act wisely.
Drive away slumber and folly from your limbs,
and constantly study every day and night,
since it is through study that learning and the astute ones appeared.

[14]

Manuscripts used:

- A: DCA 65, fol. 5^v (Fig. 11)
- B: CCM 24, fol. 2^r (Fig. 6)

ܫܠܬܐ ܝܥܝܬܐ ܕܐܝ ܫܝܠܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܝܬܐ:
ܐܘ ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ.
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܬܝܬܝܐ ܠܬܠܡܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ:
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܝ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܐ.
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ:
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ:
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ:
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ.

It is very necessary for distinction and reading,
That, if not understanding, a person does not read at all.
For everyone knows how to read correctly,
but you will only find understanding with a very few.
Even animals hear the sound of words.
But only a man of reason and intelligence [has] understanding.
Therefore the mind inclines its ears to intelligence,
so that he sees and rejoices in the beauty that is in reading.

[15]

Manuscript used:

- DCA 65, fol. 114^v

[illegible]

When I beheld the door of wisdom, beauties appeared to me.
And as I perceived these beauties, my amazement increased.
Thus, wisdom shouted in my ears: “Cleave unto books,
that you may learn all instruction⁵⁴ from them and be filled with light!”

[16]

Manuscript used:

– DCA 65, fol. 141^r

٥٥
 ٥٦
 ٥٧
 ٥٨
 ٥٩
 ٦٠
 ٦١
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On another subject

Oh, how much wonder there is in this Book of Rays!
Behold, in it your soul is instructed and your understanding increases,
Creating instruction and musings for your soul night and day,
So that you can make a way through the heart of your enemies, as with
axes.

[17]

Manuscript used:

– DCA 65, fol. 142^r

54 This is apparently word play; both *nuhrā* and *nuhārā* derive from the same root and are homographs (نُحِرَا).

55 ~~Handwritten~~ written above the line in the same hand.

דסמנ דסמנא מן דלכדמנ מן גלפנ:
נמנ נמנ לנסה דלכדמנ לנסה דלכדמנ:
דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ:
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דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ:
דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ:

When a friend of truth sees a rugged place smooth,⁵⁶
How will he forget the one who became his companion in sincerity?
A soul hates a soul without offense.
And another desires another one, but she does not respond.
Although this matter is hidden from many,
my mind is bent towards the life-giving secret.⁵⁷

3.3 *Block B: Poems Ascribed to Bar ‘Ebrōyō*

A different text-block in the same manuscript (DCA 65, fol. 142^v–143^v, 145^v)—also written in ‘Abdīšō’s hand—contains another set of poems, most of which occur in various manuscripts of Bar ‘Ebrōyō’s poetry collection. They are listed in Table 6 below.

TABLE 6 Block B: Poems in DCA 65 Ascribed to Bar ‘Ebrōyō

Number in the block	Folio number	Incipit	Number of lines, number of syllables in a line	Reference to Takahashi’s concordance of Bar ‘Ebrōyō’s poems ⁵⁸
1	140 ^v	דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ	4 lines, 12 syllables	Takahashi, 127; Dolabani, 7.3; Scebab, 111; Huntington 1, 187
2	140 ^v	דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ	4 lines, 12 syllables	Takahashi, 133; Dolabani, 10.2.2; Scebab, 246; Huntington 1, 247
3	140 ^v	דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ דלכדמנ	4 lines, 12 syllables	Takahashi, 126; Dolabani, 8.8.1; Scebab, 249; Huntington 1, 250

56 Apparently an allusion to Isa. 40:4, “Every valley shall be raised up, every mountain and hill made low; the rough ground shall become level, the rugged places a plain.”

57 I.e. to spiritual matters.

58 The references in this field are given according to the concordance by Takahashi (Takahashi, “The Poems of Barhebraeus,” 78–139). The number of each poem is that found in the editions by Dolabani (*Mušhōtō d-Mōr Grīgōriyūs*) and Scebab (*Gregorii Bar-Hebraei carmina*, ed. A. Scebab (Roma: Ex Typographia polyglotta s.c. de propaganda fide, 1877). The number of the poem in the earliest extant manuscripts comes from Huntington 1 (Oxford, Bodleian Library; 1498AD) and Or. 298 (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1487/8AD).

TABLE 6 Block B: Poems in DCA 65 Ascribed to Bar ‘Ebrōyō (*cont.*)

Number in the block	Folio number	Incipit	Number of lines, number of syllables in a line	Reference to Takahashi's concordance of Bar ‘Ebrōyō's poems
4	140 ^v	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	4 lines, 12 syllables	Takahashi, 134; Dolabani, 8.8.2; Scebab, 250; Huntington 1, 251
5	140 ^v	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	4 lines, 12 syllables	Takahashi, 137; Dolabani, 5.15.1; Scebab, 254; Huntington 1, 256
6	141 ^r	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	4 lines, 12 syllables	Takahashi, 133; Dolabani, 5.15.2; Scebab, 255; Huntington 1, 257
7	141 ^r	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	4 lines, 12 syllables	Takahashi, 129; Dolabani, 8.9; Scebab, 257; Huntington 1, 259
8	141 ^r	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	4 lines, 12 syllables	Takahashi, 131; Dolabani, 1.18.8; Scebab, 253; Huntington 1, 255
9	141 ^r	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	4 lines, 12 syllables	Takahashi, 131; Dolabani, 2.10bis; Scebab, 153; Laurenziana Or. 29.8, 11; Huntington 1, 138
10	142 ^v	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	12 lines, 12 syllables	Takahashi, 138; Dolabani, 3.12
11	142 ^v	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	8 lines, 12 syllables	—
12	143 ^r	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	10 lines, 12 syllables	—
13	143 ^r	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	8 lines, 12 syllables	—
14	143 ^v	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	4 lines, 12 syllables	—
15		لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	4 lines, 12 syllables	—
16	143 ^v	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	4 lines, 12 syllables	—
17	143 ^v –144 ^r	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	12 lines, 12 syllables	—
18	145 ^v	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	8 lines, 12 syllables	Takahashi, 131; Dolabani, 3.13
19	145 ^v	لحد بخته: تلوت لحد بخته: تلوت	6 lines, 12 syllables	Takahashi, 125; Dolabani, 1.42.2

59 In the digital copy available at vHML, there are two more leaves between these two pieces, which might be either a later insertion or, more likely, a mistake during digitization. These folios contain later poems dated to the 18th century (see Pritula, “From Tigris to Jerusalem”).

These poems were not copied by ‘Aṭṭāyē in CCM 24 (see above Chapter 2, Section 4, Fig. 6), who used DCA 65 as a *Vorlage*⁶⁰ (see above, Chapter 2, Section 3; Fig. 11). A similar situation occurs with several poems from *Block A* (written separately on flyleaves), also not copied by ‘Aṭṭāyē (see Table 5, No. 1, 15–17). This might mean either that he was not interested in copying them or that they were added by ‘Abdīšō in DCA 65 after it had been used by ‘Aṭṭāyē. The latter is quite possible, since these poems are written on flyleaves. This would also mean that the Chaldean patriarch still owned the manuscript he had written, and therefore he had done so for himself. All the pieces in Block B were written in ‘Abdīšō’s own hand and even have no interval between them; they are marked with just the sign for a strophic division and the word ܐܢܝܬܐ (‘‘Another one’’), written in the same hand in red ink in the margin. Obviously ‘Abdīšō, the scribe and owner of the manuscript, who copied these poems on the flyleaves for his personal interest, was trying to save space in the manuscript.

In total, eleven poems⁶¹ out of the nineteen in this set were included in Bar ‘Ebrōyō’s poetry concordance by Takahashi (see Table 6 above).⁶² Although not all the pieces occur in the earliest manuscripts of Bar ‘Ebrōyō’s poetry or the editions, they were obviously ascribed to him by the Syriac intellectuals of early modernity. At any rate, they are connected together without intervals and all placed under the very first rubric mentioning the ascribed author’s name. Additionally, they are written in a less cursive hand than the block of poems on grammar and reading. The script is very similar to the main text of the manuscript, namely the pieces by Bar ‘Ebrōyō.

The block begins with a rubric : ܐܒܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ (by the Maphrian; fol. 140^v). The latter is clearly an epithet of Bar ‘Ebrōyō, often used in East Syriac manuscripts,⁶³ possibly in order to avoid a direct mention of the famous prelate of a different confession. In DCA 65, it is immediately followed by a series of poems without titles that have different numbers of lines (see Table 6 above). They are included in Table 6 above, since they belong to the tradition reflected in the manuscripts many centuries after Bar ‘Ebrōyō’s death.

A poem within block B (see Table 6, No. 10) has a separate rubric and is also clearly ascribed to Bar ‘Ebrōyō: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ : ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ (Praise of the Pastors; by the Maphrian; fol. 142^v). Nevertheless, curiously enough, this piece of twelve lines in twelve-syllable meter does not occur in the earliest manuscripts of Bar

60 See Pritula, ‘‘Abdīšō of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a Scribe.’’

61 Apart from the one mentioned above as a part of the first block (see Text v.III, No. 13).

62 Takahashi, ‘‘The Poems of Barhebraeus.’’

63 See for instance Pritula, ‘‘One More Unknown Khāmīs’ Ode,’’ 187–194.

'Eḅrōyō's poetry collections, but is included in the edition by Dolabani.⁶⁴ It thus may have been circulating under Bar 'Eḅrōyō's name in the manuscript tradition. It is also noteworthy that the next seven poems (see Table 6, No. 11–17), which follow immediately after "Praise of the Pastors," are not mentioned in Takahashi's concordance by, as they are absent from the earliest manuscripts and editions of Bar 'Eḅrōyō's poetry. It is possible that they are later additions to the initial poem by Bar 'Eḅrōyō made by various authors (see Table 6, No. 10); or even additional stanzas that were meant to complete the existing original piece, as was usual in this period of Syriac poetry.⁶⁵ This is, however, merely speculation, since we do not have any more definite information about it.

One of the poems in *Block A* praises the *Book of rays* (ܬܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܫܥܝܐ), as the text directly says (see Table 5, No. 16). This piece seems therefore to have been initially composed by someone to accompany the mentioned theological treatise by Bar 'Eḅrōyō.⁶⁶ Although it is written on the same leaves as the block of poems ascribed to the West Syriac author, it is placed at the very bottom, some distance from the other poems in this block that are written without any intervals. Although copied apparently in the same hand as the former, it is written in a more cursive script, just like the poems on grammar and reading. That is why I have placed this poem in *Block A*, assuming that the piece was composed by 'AḔdīšō', who drew his inspiration from reading Bar 'Eḅrōyō's work. Another possibility is that 'AḔdīšō' just copied an existing poem he liked and found it suitable to include with the other poems.

4 Attribution of Anonymous Poems in Autograph Manuscripts: General Conclusions

The authorship of all the poetic pieces written in 'AḔdīšō' of Gazarta's hand, which have no parallels in other manuscripts, remains a matter of question. If all of them, or at least the vast majority, were composed by him, it is not quite clear why almost none of them occur in later manuscripts of his poetry. Perhaps some insight into this problem can be gained by determining the role of each autograph manuscript by 'AḔdīšō'. When a manuscript was written by the author for his own use, like SMMJ 116, he did not need to indicate authorship, for

64 See Takahashi, "The Poems of Barhebraeus," 138.

65 For instance, the famous poem of Bar 'Eḅrōyō to which additional stanzas were added by numerous authors of both West and East Syriac Churches; see Takahashi, *Barhebraeus: A Bio-Bibliography*, 339–341.

66 See Takahashi, *Barhebraeus: A Bio-Bibliography*, 65, 191–197.

it was obvious to him.⁶⁷ In this case, such a manuscript was like a poetic notebook or a draft, from which the author could later select his most successful works for further transmission.

If, however, the poet, as patriarch, wrote a manuscript for the clergy of his Church, as was often the case (like SMMJ 159), he would presumably provide the texts with more detailed explanations.

It should be borne in mind that small and medium-sized poetic works often occupy secondary places in a manuscript, between the longer texts (often of liturgical character) or on flyleaves. A prime example of such a manuscript is DCA 65, mentioned above and discussed in various articles.⁶⁸ This copy of Bar ʿEbrōyō's *Metrical Grammar* contains many quatrains and other short poems on flyleaves written in his hand. All of them are anonymous and almost all have direct or indirect relevance to the themes of the main text in this manuscript, i.e., the study of grammar and the reading of books. As we have demonstrated elsewhere, this manuscript was transcribed by ʿAbdīšōʿ of Gazarta for himself and continued to be in his possession for at least two years. This is probably why the authorship of all these short poems is not indicated at all. Some of these appear to have been composed by ʿAbdīšōʿ on topics inspired by the main text in the manuscript. However, other poems are works by Bar ʿEbrōyō himself, for they occur in manuscripts of his poetry.⁶⁹ Thus, precise attribution of the anonymous pieces is hardly possible at this place in our knowledge. Most likely, we are dealing with a short poetry anthology on a certain topic that includes pieces by various authors, including the scribe himself.

To understand the role and status of such poetic autographs, another essential question must be answered. What exactly was the form in which short and medium length poems of this kind were transmitted during the period in question? It can be assumed that the primary, if not the only, form of authorized circulation of ʿAbdīšōʿ of Gazarta's poetry was found in anthologies which were part of church manuscripts containing larger texts written by ʿAbdīšōʿ. We have no record of him compiling special collections of his poems, like *divans* of the Arabic and Persian poets; this seems unlikely. Not surprisingly for a prelate, this man of letters saw his ecclesiastical activity as his primary calling. Thus, he considered the transmission of his poetry a secondary task and carried it out in conjunction with the distribution of church books that he authoritatively wrote for his clerics. In this case, the autographs available to us are of exceptional importance for the study of ʿAbdīšōʿ of Gazarta's poetic heritage. The

67 See Pritula, "ʿAbdīšōʿ of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a Scribe," 304–305.

68 See Pritula, "ʿAbdīšōʿ of Gāzartā, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church as a Scribe," 305.

69 See Pritula, "Reading and Writing," 262–266.

selective indication of his authorship of poems in the autographs is evidence that he considered these particular poems to be sufficiently successful that they could be distributed to and by clerics.

In solving the general problem of attributing dozens of anonymous poems written in 'Abdīšō's hand, we face many smaller problems. In some of these works, the scribe indicated his authorship, but in the overwhelming majority of them, the works remain anonymous in the autographs. A small number of these anonymous poems can be found in later manuscripts of 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta's works. It is still not quite clear what the status of the autographs was and who selected the poems in these later manuscripts. However, it seems to have largely depended on who the autograph was intended for. When the scribe executed it for his own use, he had no need to indicate authorship at all.

In cases when 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta wrote manuscripts for his clerics, as the patriarch and an authority on ecclesiastical books, he inserted therein various poems of his own composition, poems which might have some connection with the longer texts in the manuscript. Very likely, he only noted his authorship of the pieces he hoped would be copied by others, probably thinking it desirable to associate them with his name. This seems to be an indication that he considered these works to be successful.

The Later Life of Manuscripts Written by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta (SMMJ 159 and DCA 65): Pilgrim Poetry of the Ottoman Period

1 Poetry and Pilgrimage in Ottoman Times

A relatively stable political and economic situation during the Ottoman period resulted in an intensification of travelling within the empire. It is from this period on that the East Syriac monastery, with a church of Mārt Maryam is known in Jerusalem to have been a popular visiting place for numerous pilgrims that made their way from the area of modern Iraq, Iran and South-East Turkey to the holy city.¹ The history of this cloister has been studied in a few recent publications.² According to them, this East Syriac Church that served as a monastery was located somewhere to the north of the Holy Sepulcher in the area of the present Christian quarter.³ In the 17th century, it was more and more involved in the activities of the Catholic missionaries from different orders that were active in this city.⁴ In 1718, the Nestorian Patriarch Eliyā (1700–1722) sent the priest Kanun of Telkepe to organize repair of the books and ritual objects kept in the “holy dwelling place of Mārt Maryam, which is the church of us Nestorians.” The list formed by this priest counted one hundred manuscripts,⁵ forty-nine of which are still in Jerusalem now. Most of them are kept in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate library;⁶ the list of them which had been incorporated in the manuscript Jer. Syr. 5 written in 1660 in Alqosh was discovered and published by Adolf Rucker.⁷

1 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 30, 42, 47–48.

2 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 30, 42, 53–56, 63–64, 82, 91–92, 105, 133, 279, 286, 297, 311, 315; Brock, “East Syriac pilgrims.”

3 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 53; see also O. Meinardus, “The Nestorians in Egypt. A Note on the Nestorians in Jerusalem,” *OC* 51 (1967): 112–129. The latter also gives clear evidence of an earlier East Syriac community in Jerusalem, beginning in at least the 7th century (Meinardus, “The Nestorians in Egypt,” 123–124).

4 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 63.

5 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 64.

6 J.B. Chabot, “Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la bibliothèque du patriarcat grec. orthodoxe de Jérusalem,” *Journal Asiatique* IX, 3 (1894): 92–134.

7 A. Rucker, “Ein alter Handschriftenkatalog des ehemaligen nestorianischen Klosters in Jerusalem,” *OC* 3,6 (1931): 90–96.

Another three are a part of the Saint Mark’s Syriac Orthodox Monastery library,⁸ three more are located in the Vatican Library.⁹

The manuscripts existing in the above-mentioned collections, as well as in other libraries contain important information about literary and social life of East Syriac communities during the Ottoman rule. Sebastian Brock published a fundamental article that discusses East Syriac manuscripts donated or written in Jerusalem.¹⁰ He carefully registered and classified them, having translated a few colophons and records found in them. Pilgrims from different parts of the Ottoman Empire used to commission and donate manuscripts to the churches and monasteries they visited, leaving information concerning themselves in colophons and in records made in earlier manuscripts.¹¹

Since the time those publications came out, numerous collections, including St. Mark’s Monastery library, were digitized by the HMML team¹² and thus became available to the scholarly community. In the present section of our study, short versified texts are discussed that were written in this period by East Syriac clerics in different districts of the Ottoman Empire. Most of them are clearly written on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (see Sections 2–3 below; Texts VI.I–VI.II), whereas a few others might have been composed in a different place (see Section 4; Text VI.V), but nevertheless reflect the spiritual life, manuscript circulation and visits to religious places in that period.

The texts being discussed here are later additions in the manuscripts written by ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta that were discussed above (see Chs. 2, 5). The current chapter concerns only two manuscripts copied by him, to which later verse notes were added. They are namely SMMJ 159 in Saint Mark monastery of Jerusalem (above, Chapter 2, Section 5, Fig. 7),¹³ and DCA 65 (see above, Chapter 2, Section 3, Figs. 3, 4, 5). The latter, being *Metrical grammar* by Bar

8 Dolabani, Ibrahim, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in St. Mark’s Monastery*, 264–267, 339–344, 380–381.

9 Vat. Sir. 90 and Borg. Syr. 169. The latter is the famous illuminated lectionary copied by ‘Aṭṭāyē b. Faraj in 1576; see Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés*, 404–408; Giamil, *Genuinae relationes inter sedem Apostolicam et Assyriorum Orientalium*, 519.

10 Brock, “East Syriac pilgrims.”

11 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 67–72.

12 Stewart, “An Update on the Digitization and Cataloging Work,” 153–171; on digitizing St. Mark’s Monastery collection, see Stewart, “An Update on the Digitization and Cataloging Work,” 160.

13 See Dolabani, Ibrahim, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in St. Mark’s Monastery*, 380–381.

were better educated than the rest of the same patriarchate.¹⁹ A traditionalist prelate named Elīyā is reported to live there even in 1856.²⁰ He is recorded as opposing any contacts with Catholics and was supporting the American mission instead; he died in 1863,²¹ and the diocese seems to have lapsed there by late 19th century.²²

2.2 *Stanzas on Exile (SMMJ 159)*

The stanzas ascribed to 'Abdīšō', bishop of Ātēl are written on the blank leaves that are found between the main texts (see Text VI.I). They are continued on the following leaf (fol. 131^r), where they are rubricated in red ink, unlike the initial ones that are entitled in black (fol. 130^v). Both parts seem to be written in the same hand or in very similar ones. They are clearly a later addition to the manuscript written by 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta in 1567. Thematically, stanzas on both folia concern the motif of exile, and have even similar imagery. No less important is that in the title it is mentioned that the author composed them while visiting Jerusalem in 1643/4 (fol. 130^v; see Text VI.I). Thus, one can be sure that these short pieces were copied as associated with pilgrimage:

Stanzas by 'Abdīšō', Bishop of Ātēl he Composed in Jerusalem in the year 1955 of Greece.²³

The motif of exile was rather common for the late Syriac poetry and is well-known since the time of the Syriac Renaissance. Thus, Khāmīs bar Qardāḥē composed a poem full of nostalgia for Arbela, his native city.²⁴ Another piece, a long *mēmṛā* on the same subject was composed by Dāwīd Pūnīqāyā (active late 15th century), a West Syriac poet.²⁵

It is quite possible that the biographic events of the author's life, namely, his pilgrimages to Jerusalem, made him write these stanzas. In all likelihood, it is for that reason that wandering and living in exile are treated not merely negatively (see Text VI.I, poems 1–3), as is usual for such type of poetry, but also as useful and even necessary for personal development (see Text VI.I, poem 1, stanza 1).

19 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 276.

20 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 313.

21 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 314.

22 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 365.

23 = 1643/4 CE.

24 See Pritula, "Khāmīs bar Qardāḥē (kon. XIII v.) i arbēl'skiy literaturnyy krug," 219, 226–227.

25 See Butts, "The Afflictions of Exile."

بَعَثَ تَحْلُومَ هَذَا فِي مَجْلِسِ لَيْلٍ لِكَيْفَةٍ:
وَمُتَمِّدٌ يَسْجُدُ فِي يَدَيْهِ دَعْوَةً هَيَّجَةً ❖

2
هِيَ فِي قُدْسِهِ دَلِيلٌ يَمُنُّ بِمَجْلِسِ كَذِبٍ:
مَنْ دَعَا لَيْلٍ هِيَ مَلِكٌ يَفْتَنُ سَجِيحٍ:
يَسْجُدُ دَسْمًا مَدْفُوعًا يَسْجُدُ مَدْفُوعًا ❖

Stanzas by ‘Abdīšō‘, Bishop of Ātēl that he composed in Jerusalem
in the year 1955 of Greece²⁷

“Oh, my lords, pray for me!”²⁸

- 1 As all the experienced witnessed, who investigated and confirmed,
anyone in the flesh who is separated from his neighbors and friends,
suffers every day, and his heart doesn’t rejoice at all.
And his palate is bitter even if he eats honey and sugar.
- 2 It is told by the earlier ones that a heart feels [another] heart,
even when one is separated from his friend by endless *farsakhs*.²⁹
When in the chamber of the heart, the mind, the king of the soul, is con-
fined,
all at once his friend would be felt as soon as he is depicted before him.

[2]

هَوَاتُ تَنْبِذَ لَيْلٍ حَمْدُهَا مَلِكٌ هَاتَمٌ تَصَوِّتُهَا لَيْلٌ مَوْحِيَةٌ:
حَلَّ لَيْلٍ فِي دَلِيلِهَا تَنْبِذَ دَسْمًا حَقِيْقَةً:
سَقَاةً كَيْفَ تَنْجِيْهَا تَنْجِيْهَا:
لَنْ مَجْلِسٍ هِيَ لَيْلٍ خَبْرٌ مَلِكٌ حَقِيْقَةً:
لَيْ يَصْلُحَ هَيْسَةً عَمَلُهَا حَلَّ تَنْبِذَ ❖

Then, with God’s help we are writing a few metrical strophes
on exile

Everyone who is in a place of exile
and finishes his days in wandering,

²⁷ = 1643/4 CE.

²⁸ Most likely an invocation addressed to the readers; an indication of the tune is also possible.

²⁹ *farsakh*—a unit of length in medieval Iran, equal to 6 km.

his heart, sore and full of sorrow, never rejoices,
even if he possesses and obtains the power over the whole of creation.

[3]

سَقَتَا

مُذَبِّذٌ يُذَذُّ دِمَاجَهُ بِأَكْبَرِ عَوَجَاتٍ.
هَتَّاهُ بِحَقِيقَةٍ أَقْسَى تَجَهُّتِهِ جَهَنَّتٍ.
هَلْ مَلَأَ دِمَاجَهُ ذُحْدُ إِهْدَاسِ هَلَاكَةِ نَفْسٍ تَجِبَتْ.
مَحْأَسَدُكَ لَسِبَ دِصَالَتُهُ تَدْمِغُهُ مَحْتَبَعٌ دَقَلٌ ❖

Another one

Bitter is the place of exile for an exile.
And continually sad is the wanderer's face while wandering.
And when his land and people are mentioned, he falls in sobbing.
And tears flow down, resembling water streams.

[4]

سَقَتَا

أُتْسِدَ بِذُحْدِ دِمَاجِهِ حَقٌّ مُذَبِّذٌ.
أَجْهَشَ هَلَاكُ دِجَاسِهِ مِجْزَ هَبِيسٍ ذَلِيلٌ.
وَلَبَسَ ثَوْبَ يَسْئَرٍ تَدْمِغُهُ حَزَنُ تَحْجِيزٍ.
دَجَلٌ زَلَّكَتْهُ مَهْشَرَةُ هَلَاكِهِ مَهْمُومٌ هَتَّازٌ ❖

Another one

My brothers, how bitter is the place of exile,
[but] is the one who lives in it indigent?
His heart becomes hard like a diamond
that would bear any hardships, never losing hope.

[5]

سَقَتَا بِأَكْبَرِ عَوَجَاتِهِ عَوَجَاتِهِ

هَلْ دَفَعَتْ دِهْلُجُ دِجَاسِهِ دَسْبَحَ بِأَكْبَرِ عَوَجَاتِهِ.
مَجْهَشَ لَحْمِ بَغْيِهِ هَبِيسُ تَجَهُّتِهِ.
دِجَاسُ كَلَمٍ وَلَهْجَتُهُ مَدْنُ مَحْأَسَدِهِ مَذْكَبُهُ.
مَهْمُومٌ يَكْتُمُ حَتَّى تَنْتَعِزَ دِجْلَانُ تَذَبُّهُ ❖

Another one, in praise of exile

One who wants to be really amiable to mankind,
 Would abandon his place and live in wandering.
 As a pearl has been taken from its shell,
 It is well honored by people of the whole creation.

[6]

ܡܫܬܥܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
 ܡܬܥܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
 ܡܬܥܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
 ܡܬܥܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
 ܡܬܥܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

**Another one, that it is not appropriate for anyone to delay travel-
ing**

Water that stays in a pool for long
 and does not pour out, a smell of stench comes from it.
 Thus, one who remains at the same place,
 much degrades, even if he is proficient in wisdom.

**3 Poetic Pilgrim Note by Hermez and ʿĀlyā of Ḥaḳmīyā (Jerusalem,
1654/5)**

Unlike all other texts that are first being published and translated here, this one was rendered in the article by Sebastian Brock.³⁰ The original text was never reproduced before the present study, because of the poor condition and handwriting of the text and uncertainty of some names. Nevertheless, the text is a rather important document on pilgrimage and the church history of East Syriac Christians of the Ottoman period (see Text VI.11).

This pilgrim note found in manuscript SMMJ 159 (front flyleaf ii^r) was composed and written by a priest named Hermez, which is apparently, a Turkified version of the popular Iranian name Hōrmēzd³¹—as follows from the final invocation to pray God for him (see Text VI.11, stanza 5). The note relates that three persons visited Jerusalem: one of them, a priest named ʿĀlyā from the village of Ḥaḳmīyā, near Gazarta returned to his place, while the author of the

30 Brock, "East Syriac pilgrims," 195.

31 The Turkification of the name in this case is seen in the replacement of the original vowels, apparently under the influence of vowel harmony.

verses remained in the Holy city together with his deacon to serve Lord and His mother until they obtained the sacred fire (stanza 4). Despite the corruption of the first line one can see the digits that seem to be a date in the Seleucid era as is usual in Syriac manuscripts (see Text VI.II, stanza 1):³²

...
 [In the year] 1966 [of Greeks]³³ priest (?) of Jazira,
 to Jerusalem, the city of the Lord.
 His name is Hermez, a sinner.

Then we get 1966 AG as the dating of the described event, which corresponds to 1654/5 CE, as read by Brock.³⁴ According to Wilmshurst,³⁵ among East Syriac priests mentioned in the manuscript records or notes that survived from the Ottoman period there are two or three priests named Ṭalyā. If the dating of this note is read correctly, here one faces the earliest mentioned among them.³⁶ Most problematic is the correct reading of the deacon's name. Brock and Wilmshurst assume that *ʿAbdeh d-Māryā* ("servant of the Lord") mentioned in the same line with the word "deacon" is his name (see Text VI.II, stanza 3).³⁷ On the other hand, as is seen from the picture, *kzwm* occurs in the same verse right before the words *ܫܡܗ ܫܡܗ* (*šmeh* "his name"). I would assume that it is the name of the deacon. In the book by Wilmshurst, a person named Kāzūm, son of Nisān from Tel Asqōf is registered.³⁸ Most likely, they were two different persons rather than the same one, as the second is reported to live much later than the deacon mentioned in the note being discussed, namely in early 18th century. The name on the note in SMMJ 159 is vocalized with the first *rūkkākhā*, so that the correct phonetic image might be Khāzūm (Hāzūm), while *ʿAbdeh d-Māryā* is most likely just his epithet, "servant of the Lord" (see Text VI.II, stanzas 2–3):

and a noble one came with him,
 whose name is priest Ṭalyā,
 from the village of Ḥaḳamyā,³⁹
 in the region of Gazarta.

32 Or "the era of Greece," Anno Graecorum, abridged as AG.

33 = 1654/5 CE.

34 Brock, "East Syriac pilgrims," 195.

35 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 58, 71, 124, 220, 308.

36 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 71, 124.

37 Brock, "East Syriac pilgrims," 195; Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 71.

38 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 235.

39 Or: Ḥaḳmiyā (?).

And a deacon with them
 from the district of Ṭhūmā,
 whose name is Khāzūm (?), servant of the Lord,
 deacon and Jerusalem pilgrim.⁴⁰

Thus, the text has a poetic character, and strophic form. In fact, some of the asterisks—or to be precise, crosses in this case—that are used for stanza division might have been omitted in some places here, given the poor condition and the character of the text that was added as an impromptu note to an earlier manuscript. Since the very top of the folio is missing, one can assume that the initial line was completely lost, whereas the first one present that was following it is heavily corrupt now. In this case the first stanza might have consisted originally of four lines, like in most such poems, and just like the rest of this piece. With some exceptions, each stanza has a common rhyme at the end of each verse; all lines have seven syllables, which is quite typical for simple strophic pieces.

The places mentioned in the note lie in the Ṭhūmā in Hakkari region, one of the tribes of that district, with its central village named Ṭhūmā Gawāyā (see Text VI.II, stanzas 2–3).⁴¹

This whole region is well known to have belonged to the Church line found by Yōḥannān Sullāqā in the mid-16th century, and whose patriarchal seat was located in the village of Qūdšānīs in the same district by early 17th century.⁴² The village of Ḥakmīyā (or rather Ḥakamyā, following the vocalization in the poem) near Gazarta, from where the priest Ṭalyā originates cannot be precisely localized.⁴³ Therefore, it is not known for sure whether these persons belonged to the same patriarchate, or they were in communication and made a pilgrimage, belonging to the two rival East Syriac Church lines, which is also theoretically possible. This fact is not amazing though, but rather proves that the split within the Church did not necessarily mean much even for clerics.

From the standpoint of spelling, the text does not display the initial *alaph*, when a particle precedes the word (see the Syriac original in Text VI.II): ܐܠܦ ܕܢܗܝܪܐ “in the region of Gazarta” (stanza 2); ܠܡܝܬܐ “to His mother” (stanza 4):

40 For the term ܡܪܝܬܐ see Kaufhold, “Der Ehrentitel ‘Jerusalem-pilger.’” Interestingly, the Syriac term seems to be constructed following the Arabic model (*maqdisī*) no earlier than in 13th–14th centuries (see Kaufhold, “Der Ehrentitel ‘Jerusalem-pilger,’” 47).

41 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 285, 297.

42 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 295.

43 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 111.

- 1 ... <...>
[In the year] 1966 [of the Greeks]⁴⁸ ... priest (?) of Jazira,
to Jerusalem, the city of the Lord.
His name is Hermez, a sinner,
- 2 and a noble one came with him,
whose name is priest Ṭalyā
from the village of Ḥakamyā,⁴⁹
in the region of Gazarta.
- 3 And a deacon with them
from the district of Ṭhūmā,
whose name is Khāzūm (?), servant of the Lord,
deacon and Jerusalem pilgrim.⁵⁰
- 4 One of them returned to his land,
while Hermez stayed as well as his deacon
in order to serve our Lord and His mother
until [these] two⁵¹ would bring His light.⁵²
- 5 My brothers, out of Jesus' love,
pray about the contemptible
priest Hermez, the weak one,
so that perhaps the Lord may forgive him.

4 Poems by Ṭalyā of Qūrānā (?) (Monastery of Jacob the Recluse)

4.1 *Priest Ṭalyā: Biographic Information in Poems and Notes*

A priest named Ṭalyā is mentioned as an author of several poems that occur as later additions in the manuscript DCA 65 (fol. 129^v, 144^r), none of them pub-

48 = 1654/5 CE.

49 Or Ḥakmiyā (?).

50 For the term ܬܚܝܬܐ see Kaufhold, "Der Ehrentitel 'Jerusalem-pilger,'" 44–61. Interestingly, the Syriac term seems to be constructed following the Arabic model (*maqdisī*) no earlier than in 13th–14th centuries (Kaufhold, "Der Ehrentitel 'Jerusalem-pilger,'" 47).

51 I.e. Hermez and his deacon.

52 Since each line in the stanza should end in the rhyme -ēh, ܬܚܝܬܐ should be singular. Therefore, the correct translation could be "until [these] two would bring His light" rather than "until [these] two would bring their light."

These notes might have been made no earlier than early 19th century, when this monastery became a residence of a Chaldean metropolitan.⁵⁵ Then, in 1895, its library was transferred to Seert, and might have perished there during the massacre of 1915.⁵⁶ The manuscript under discussion apparently left this collection earlier, merged with the library of the Chaldean diocese of Alqosh under unknown circumstances, and so has reached us.

Thus, the author of the verses published below, named Ṭalyā, might have been a priest, who visited the monastery of Jacob the Recluse near Seert and died there. Probably, they were added to the earlier manuscript as the poet visited the monastery near Seert, apparently, for a pilgrimage.

Text and Translation VI.III. Poems on the Death of the Priest Ṭalyā

Manuscripts used:

– DCA 65, fol. 2^r

[1]

تَعْتَمِدُ بِرُكْلِهِ دِيَّ لَحْمِ الْكَرْبِ دَعَمُودَ مَدْنُ:
فَهَذِهِ جَمْعُ الْخُلُقِ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ.
تَدْنُ سَوْبُكُ لِيْهِ مَدْنُ بَحْمُودَ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ:
مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ

Thus, in the year 1736 after the Nativity of Jesus Christ, priest Ṭalyā, a skillful teacher, passed away from this world in the month of Ḥzīrān inside [the monastery of] Mār Ya‘qōb, the famous and elevated.

May our Lord give him delight in the Kingdom of heaven with His saints.

[2]

مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ
مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ
مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ
مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ مَدْنُ

55 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 96.

56 Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, 96–97.

57 Correction above the line in the same hand: مَدْنُ مَدْنُ.

Another one

Lord, pity the spirit⁵⁸ of the priest and teacher!
 Relieve him and us from Gehenna and the gnashing of teeth!
 So that we may see him there, in the kingdom on high, among Your
 saints.
 Glory to Your name, for You listen to the voice of the pauper and trash.

يَا رَبِّ ارْحَمْهُ وَارْحَمْ بَنِي بَيْتِهِ وَارْحَمْ بَنِي بَيْتِهِ

The stanzas are finished, and pray for ʿĪsā, who composed and wrote them.

4.2 *Dormitory Maḍrāṣā by Ṭalyā: Development of the Form in the Ottoman Time*

The piece occurs in the same manuscript (DCA 65, fol. 129^v) and ascribed to the same “young priest Ṭalyā” is a typical sample of a mourning (or funeral) *maḍrāṣā* composed on the death of the poet’s brother, whether spiritual or natural one (see Text VI.IV). As it is usual for this form, it has a refrain of short lines (*ʿūnāyā*), and several verses (*bāṭē*) of a rather complex and variable metrical structure (see Text VI.IV, stanza 1):

*Come, brothers, properly, worship our Lord, and glorify Him with a double
 strength, for He is our pride!*

Verses:

Let us cry, sob and weep with sorrowful tears
 about a servant that pleased his Lord in all appropriate ways.
 For death has robbed him from brotherhood
 and imprisoned him in a grave according to human custom.
 And it dressed me in bitter sufferings and sad mourning.⁵⁹
 And there is no power in me left so to escape weakness.

The text consists of nine six-line stanzas, making a variable rhythmic pattern. Thus, each verse within the stanza has nine to twelve syllables. Each stanza has its own common rhyme (at the end of each line), uniting all the lines within it. The poem’s content is rather characteristic for its genre that combines a lamentation—with the description of a dead man’s troubles—and a prayer for the deceased person (see Text VI.IV, stanza 3):

58 Originally: soul.

59 Literally: mourning of sadness.

I ask you, oh Lord of the heights,
 and plead also with friends of yours,⁶⁰ Jesus,
 when you come to resurrect the rational ones,
 and to judge all the earthly ones,
 may that servant, who died in Your name, not be seen in sorrows.
 And may he hear You say to him: "Come and enter the life!"

Then the petition moves to mentioning "the final day," i.e. the Last Judgement, when the body is resurrected. This is a logical final culmination of such a text that accents the ultimate destiny of human (see Text VI.IV, stanza 8):

On the day you set the twelve thrones,
 and You will seat the Apostles, the sons of the teaching, there.
 And You will enfeeble the Jews' ears,
 so that they demand the revenge for you to them, and you judge them.
 On this day, be clement, our Lord, as you are accustomed,
 and have mercy on this servant of Yours, as you (better) know.

A similar contents arrangement occur in other East Syriac poetic forms on the subject. Such is, for instance, 'ōnītā hymns from the *Wardā* collection "On repentance" (25)⁶¹ and "On grave" (48), published by us in the critical edition of the *Wardā* collection.⁶² Such a parallel provides one more demonstration of the substantial flexibility of the Syriac poetic forms.

Most detailed, the evolution of *maḏrāšē* was recently discussed by Murre-van den Berg.⁶³ The genre itself that previously included a broad range of strophic hymns was used by the Syriac Renaissance authors for funeral services. Such poets as patriarch Eliyā III (1176–1190), ʾĪšō'yahb bar Malkōn, metropolitan of Nisibis (active late 12th–early 13th century) have contributed to this development. Numerous *maḏrāšē* were composed not only in Syriac, but also in Arabic and Neo Aramaic.⁶⁴ Most of these hymns have a marking for what kind of occasion they are meant to be performed: the burial of priests, deacons or laymen, male or female.

60 Or: your mercies.

61 Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 284–293. The number in brackets corresponds to the numbering of hymns in the edition.

62 Pritula, *The Wardā: An East Syriac Hymnological Collection*, 350–355.

63 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 176–181.

64 Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 177.

2. هَلْ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ لَكَ مَعْنَى هَذِهِ الْكَلِمَةِ؟
 يَتَجَمَّعُ / يَجْمَعُ عَلَيْكَ تَعْدِيدُ مَعْنَى دَلِيلٍ مُؤَيَّدٍ.
 مَعْلُومٌ / تَبَيَّنَ لَكَ أَنَّ تَعْدِيدَ مَعْنَى
 دَرَجَتِي هِيَ حَلَسَةُ تَعْنِيهِ.
 هَلْ لَكَ ذِكْرُ مَعْنَى لَحْسَةٍ؟ تَعْدِيدُ
 بَلَدٍ هُوَ مَعْنَى لَكَ مَعْنَى تَعْنِيهِ لَحْسَةٍ.
 هَلْ لَكَ مَعْنَى لَحْسَةٍ؟ تَعْدِيدُ لَكَ مَعْنَى
 تَعْنِيهِ مَعْنَى لَحْسَةٍ.
 3. هَلْ لَكَ مَعْنَى لَحْسَةٍ؟ تَعْدِيدُ لَكَ مَعْنَى
 لَحْسَةٍ.
 هَلْ لَكَ مَعْنَى لَحْسَةٍ؟ تَعْدِيدُ لَكَ مَعْنَى
 لَحْسَةٍ.
 4. 130^r هَلْ لَكَ مَعْنَى لَحْسَةٍ؟ تَعْدِيدُ لَكَ مَعْنَى
 لَحْسَةٍ.
 هَلْ لَكَ مَعْنَى لَحْسَةٍ؟ تَعْدِيدُ لَكَ مَعْنَى
 لَحْسَةٍ.
 5. هَلْ لَكَ مَعْنَى لَحْسَةٍ؟ تَعْدِيدُ لَكَ مَعْنَى
 لَحْسَةٍ.
 هَلْ لَكَ مَعْنَى لَحْسَةٍ؟ تَعْدِيدُ لَكَ مَعْنَى
 لَحْسَةٍ.
 6. هَلْ لَكَ مَعْنَى لَحْسَةٍ؟ تَعْدِيدُ لَكَ مَعْنَى
 لَحْسَةٍ.
 هَلْ لَكَ مَعْنَى لَحْسَةٍ؟ تَعْدِيدُ لَكَ مَعْنَى
 لَحْسَةٍ.
 7. هَلْ لَكَ مَعْنَى لَحْسَةٍ؟ تَعْدِيدُ لَكَ مَعْنَى
 لَحْسَةٍ.
 هَلْ لَكَ مَعْنَى لَحْسَةٍ؟ تَعْدِيدُ لَكَ مَعْنَى
 لَحْسَةٍ.

69 Added above the line in the same hand.

8
 9

129^v

Madrāṣā composed by the young priest Ṭalyā on his natural brother

Come, brothers, properly, worship our Lord, and glorify Him with a double strength, for He is our pride!

Verses:

- 1 Let us cry, sob and weep with sorrowful tears
 about a servant that pleased his Lord in all appropriate ways.
 For death has robbed him from brotherhood
 and imprisoned him in a grave according to human custom.
 And it dressed me in bitter sufferings and sad mourning.⁷⁰
 And there is no power in me left so to escape weakness.
- 2 Your family and aunts⁷¹ are weeping with me about you.
 And all the friends are dressed in grief and passion,
 since you were the pride of all your kinsmen
 and a glory of all your family members.
 That is why Justus⁷² pleases you in the chamber of delights,
 and there He gives you a share with Enoch and Elijah.
- 3 I ask you, oh Lord of the heights,
 and plead also the friends of yours,⁷³ Jesus,
 when you come to resurrect the rational ones,
 and to judge all the earthly ones,

⁷⁰ Literally: mourning of sadness.

⁷¹ On the father's side.

⁷² I.e. Jesus; cf. Colossians 4:11.

⁷³ Or: your mercies.

- may that servant, who died in Your name, not be seen in sorrows.
 And may he hear You say to him: "Come and enter the life!"
- 4 On the day streams cease on the inhabitable earth,
 130^r And the water in the seas dries up, / as well as in rivers,
 and the earth stays deserted,
 and gets rolled together as a parchment scroll,
 on that day be clement, oh the Clement one, to this son of the soil,
 and be absolver of his transgressions through your mercy and grace.
- 5 On the day this world is disturbed and the creatures terrified,
 and the slanderer, the hater of the humankind is scared,
 and falls into shame and shivering,
 beats his breast and he stays ashamed,
 may this servant of yours enter the banquet with you
 and rejoice at this feast for the sons of the Kingdom.
- 6 On the day when all the orbs fall down, like leaves,
 from the sky at the order of our Lord, and go down to the earth,
 the good ones will arise to heaven at your command,
 and the evil ones will gnash with their teeth on the earth.
 On that day be clement, oh Clement one, to this son of humans,
 and elevate him above the Pleiades and the Zodiac.
- 7 On the day, when the four elements that were forming support
 come to non-existence, and villages are ruined,
 mountains are destroyed by the device
 of the justice, and people fly up,
 and the spirits sing before you like Sirens,
 may this servant sing an ode and doxology with them.
- 8 On the day you set the twelve thrones,
 and You will seat the Apostles, the sons of the teaching, there.
 And You will weaken the Jews' ears,
 so that they demand vengeance for you to them, and you judge them.
 On this day, be clement, our Lord, as you are accustomed,
 and have mercy on this servant of Yours, as you (better) know.
- 9 On that day, when it never becomes evening or dusks,
 and none is like it among other days.
 And it won't fall down to be dried by drought,⁷⁴
 Hold your servant worthy of reward out of grace, and may he take it
 from your hand.

74 The verse seems to be rather obscure.

Since he drank Your Blood from the chalice and approached the mystery
of your Body,
may he enter the chamber with you, and may his name be written
there.

4.3 *Quatrains by Ṭalyā: Exploiting Syriac Renaissance Multilingual Models*

On the rear flyleaves of the same manuscript, five quatrains ascribed to the same author, priest Ṭalyā, are written in the same hand (see Text VI.V). They appear to imitate the Syriac Renaissance poetic models. First of all, it is at that time that this form was first exploited by this literary tradition. Such renowned authors of the 13th century as Yūḥannōn bar Maʿdanī (d. 1263), Grīgoriūs bar ʿEbrōyō (1226–1286) in the West Syriac Church and Khāmīs bar Qardāḥē (active late 13th century) in the East Syriac tradition contributed to its development (see above, Chapter 2, Section 2; Chapter 3, Section 2.3; Chapter 4, Section 1), and the first of the three seems to have been the inventor of this new poetic style.

By the time this small set of texts was written in the earlier manuscript, the quatrain form became very popular and widely circulating, in particular being very suitable for poetic additions on various subjects due to its brevity. The five short poems under discussion, nevertheless, are close to the Syriac Renaissance not just in its formal features, but also in its style (see Text VI.V, quatrain 1) and content, which is the love theme:

Day and night, I, a debtor⁷⁵ of yours, want you very much.
And strongly desire the beauty of your face, full moon.
My eyes got dimmed by gazing at your beauty, khan of the Tatars!
Behold, a shah and a sovereign bow their heads and necks before you.

All five pieces are addressed to a beloved, in a physical or mystical understanding or, more likely, using both these semantic layers. In this, Ṭalyā's poem uses similar imagery to the quatrains of Khāmīs bar Qardāḥē, carefully studied by Mengozzi.⁷⁶ This East Syriac author is also known to have composed a wine ode of mystical character in the summer residence of the Ilkhans—a Mongol dynasty that established its power over Iraq and West Iran since 1258. Ṭalyā's

⁷⁵ Or: your believer.

⁷⁶ Mengozzi, "Persische Lyrik in syrischem Gewand," 155–176; Mengozzi, "Quatrains on Love by Khāmīs bar Qardaḥē," 331–344; see also an edition of the whole poem collection ascribed to Khāmīs: *Khāmīs bar Qardāḥē, Mēmre w-Mušḥāthā*.

poems seem to imitate even this historical context, using specific imagery (see Text VI.V, quatrain 4):⁷⁷

Your brightness is beautiful and more precious than a turquoise necklace.

Your syllogism is better than a ruby of the greatest shah.

And your image is mixed with pearls, diamonds and gems.

Your scent is pleasant, like the scent of musk and ambergris.

Another important characteristic of this type of poetry, both in the 13th and in the 16/17th c., is its use of bilingualism. Two bilingual poems—a Syro-Persian⁷⁸ and a Syro-Turkish one⁷⁹ that were recently studied and edited—have been also ascribed to Khāmīs. In the quatrains published below Persian, Arabic, Turkic and Kurdish words are used, and all those often occur in the same short poem. In contents and style, the group of the poems being discussed here is very close to the Syro-Persian poem ascribed to Khāmīs. The latter is also present in the earliest manuscript of his poems (CCM 419), dated 1394/5, and was published by Mengozzi.⁸⁰ It is obviously an imitation of popular Persian poetry focusing on wine and love topics. The influence of this Persianized Syriac poetry that developed in the Mongol era is even emphasized in the quatrains by priest Ṭalyā. Thus, in the first one published here, **كَنْزُ الْتَاتَارِ** (“khan of the Tatars”) is mentioned, as an expression of extreme beauty. Grammatically, this is a typical Persian collocation using two glosses of this language connected with *izāfe* (classical Pers. -i, modern Pers. -e), a particle used in the Persian language to link two words together. It occurs in these pieces a few times (quatrain 1, **كَمَلُ الْقَمَرِ** “full moon”; quatrain 4, **كَمَلُ الشَّاهِ** “the greatest shah”), as well as *-lar*, the Turkic plural suffix, is used here for Turkish loanwords.

77 See Taylor, “Your Sweet Saliva is the Living Wine,” 31–53, 46–47; Pritula, “Zwei Gedichte des Hāmīs bar Qardāḥē,” 424–426.

78 See Mengozzi, “Persische Lyrik in syrischem Gewand,” 173–174.

79 See Pritula, “Syroturcica: A Bilingual Poem from the Mongol Time,” 345–357; a critical edition of the text with a detailed commentary on the Syriac and Turkic stanzas has been prepared by Peter Zieme and myself (see A. Pritula, P. Zieme, “A Syro-Turkic Poem on Divine Economy Ascribed to Khāmīs: Critical Edition,” in *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 299–324).

80 Mengozzi, “Persische Lyrik in syrischem Gewand,” 173–174; see also W. Heffening, “Liturgische Texte der Nestorianer und Jakobiten in Süd-Türkischen Mundarten,” *OC* 11.33 (1936): 232–235; A. Mingana, “The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East: A New Document,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 9.2 (1925): 338.

Obviously, this small group of texts was meant to reflect and demonstrate the multilingual and multicultural interaction in the Near East of the Ottoman period, but exploiting the parallelism with the similar situation in the Mongol empire in late 13th century.

The following piece by Ṭalyā is one more illustration of how the Syriac Renaissance poetic imagery was treated as a model by poets in the later centuries (see Text VI.V, quatrain 5):

Come, my beloved ones, my companions and brothers,
to rejoice and take pleasure in the sugar lips!
The teeth of his mouth resemble pearls of the sultans.
So my heart has boiled from the desire of him, and [my] liver burnt.

In the poems under discussion, both the *maḍrāšā* and the quatrains, the instability of opposition of a/ā is clearly seen in the vocalization. Thus, *zqāpā* is used even in cases, when one normally assumes short *a* (*maḍrāšā*, stanza 1 ܙܩܦܐ “brotherhood”), while *ptāḥā* is met even in some words with *ā* (quatrain 1 ܩܬܚܐ; here: “very”). This uncertainty is valid for the Persian and Arabic loanwords as well (quatrain 1 ܬܬܐܪܐ “Tatars,” cf. Pers. *tātār*; quatrain 3 ܬܒܝܬܐ “sick”; cf. Pers. *bīmār*). The same may be noted about the opposition of e/ē (*maḍrāšā*, stanza 1 ܢܝܝܬܐ “we will cry”). The reason for such a drift in rendering vowels in the text might be the spread of the New Aramaic, where the phonetic significance of the quantitative opposition disappeared, and the difference had only a positional character.⁸¹ The situation was certainly looking different in different dialects.⁸²

Text and Translation VI.V. Quatrains by Ṭalyā

Manuscripts used:

– DCA 65, fol. 144^r–144^v

ܬܠܝܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܬܠܝܐ ܕܬܠܝܐ ܕܬܠܝܐ ܕܬܠܝܐ ܕܬܠܝܐ ܕܬܠܝܐ ܕܬܠܝܐ ܕܬܠܝܐ 144^r

Versed stanzas composed by the priest Ṭalyā on the subject of love to drinking wine

81 See K.G. Tsereteli, *Sovremennyyi assiriiskii jazyk. Jazyki narodov Azii i Afriki* [Современный ассирийский язык. Языки народов Азии и Африки] (M.: Nauka, 1964), pp. 22–23.

82 Tsereteli, *Sovremennyyi assiriiskii jazyk*, 23.

[1]

ܬܢܝܥܬܐ ܗܠܠܬܐ ܫܗܝܬܐ ܗܝܠܐ ܠܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܥܝܬܐ.
 ܘܠܫܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܐ ܠܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܬܝܐ.
 ܕܝܬܝܐ 83 ܠܝܬܝܐ ܠܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܬܝܐ.
 ܕܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܬܝܐ.

Day and night, I, a debtor⁸⁴ of yours, want you very much.
 And strongly desire the beauty of your face, full moon.
 My eyes got dimmed by gazing at your beauty, khan of the Tatars!
 Behold, a shah and a sovereign bow their heads and necks before you.

Loanwords

ܕܝܥܝܬܐ	Pers. <i>dīndār</i> 1 “debtor”; 2 “honest, righteous”
ܕܝܬܐ	Ar. <i>badr</i> “full moon”
ܕܝܬܐ	Ar. <i>qamar</i> “moon”
ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ	Pers. <i>hān-i tātar</i> “Khan of the Tatars”
ܕܝܬܐ [ܕܝܬܐ]	Turk. <i>bāš</i> “head”; with the Syriac post-positive article -ā (displaying St. Emph.) attached
ܫܗܝܬܐ	Pers. <i>šah</i> “shah, king”
ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ	Pers. <i>hūndkār</i> “lord, sovereign” (< <i>hūdāvandgār</i>)

[2]

ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ
 ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ.
 ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ.
 ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ.
 ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ.

Another stanza

And all sons of Adam are connected with you (?)
 When they stand to ... your statue very much (?).
 Your mouth resembles a vessel full of gold, oh, king of horsemen.
 How long will you hate me, and your heart will be grieved because of me?

83 In the ms: ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ; obviously a mistake.

84 Or: your believer.

Loanwords

تَدْعُوهُ	Turk. <i>qarāšūh</i> “mixed, mingled”
بِهِنَّ	Pers. <i>besyār</i> “very much” (?)
شَاهُ سُوْوَارِ	Pers. <i>šah suvār</i> “king of horsemen”
سَارِ	Pers. <i>sār</i> “grief, sorrow”

[3]

لَسَدَا
 تَبْدُوهُ وَهِيَ وَهَبِي تَهْتَعُ لِيْعُ يَوْمَتُهُ.
 دَهْبِي بَلْعِي وَهِيَ لِيْعُ حَبْ حَهْدُ.
 هَبْ دِيْبَ هَهْتَعُ مِيْسَلِيْ فَيَدُ دِيْبَهْ تَبْعُدُ.
 هَبْ لِيْ مِيْسَلِيْ لِيْدَ حَلَفْ يَدِيْ.

Another one

Your brightness is honorable, your stature is high like a pine tree.
 And your taste is pleasant and sweet for palate, like water of Kawther.⁸⁵
 And from the scent of your breath, a body that is sick obtains healing.
 And if I don't see you, my heart would fail one hundred [and] four
 [times] (?) a day.

Loanwords

يَوْمَتُهُ	Ar., Pers. <i>šanawbar</i> “pine tree”
حَهْدُ	Ar. <i>kawṭar</i> “Kawther” (sacred stream; Qur'an 108:1); rendering <i>t</i> of the Arabic word as <i>s</i> apparently speaks for its borrowing in the Persian environment.
تَبْعُدُ	Pers. <i>bīmār</i> “sick”
يَدِيْ	Apparently, Pers. <i>šad</i> “hundred” + <i>čār</i> “four” = one hundred [and] four; or four hundred, which would be an inversion though.

[4]

لَسَدَا
 وَهِيَ كَبْدُ مِيْسَلِيْ دَهْبِي وَهِيَ.
 هَهْتَعُ مِيْسَلِيْ لِيْدَ حَلَفْ يَدِيْ.

⁸⁵ Apparently, the Quranic sacred stream is meant (Qur'an, 108:1), one of the most popular subjects in the Islamic exegetical and poetic tradition.

مَلِكُ لُحْيٍ مَحْفُورٍ حُلُمُهُ مَلِكُ لُحْيٍ مَحْفُورٍ
مَلِكُ لُحْيٍ مَحْفُورٍ حُلُمُهُ مَلِكُ لُحْيٍ مَحْفُورٍ

Another one

Your brightness is beautiful and more precious than a turquoise necklace.

Your syllogism is better than a ruby of the greatest shah.⁸⁶

And your image is mixed with pearls, diamonds and gems.

Your scent is pleasant, like the scent of musk and ambergris.

Loanwords

كَبْرِيَا	Pers. <i>p(/f)īrōze</i> “turquoise”
لُحْيٍ	Ar. <i>la’l</i> “ruby”
شَاه	Pers. <i>šāh</i> “shah, king”
أَكْبَر	Ar. <i>akbar</i> “the greatest”
لُحْلُ	Ar. <i>lu’lu’</i> “pearl”
لُحْيٍ	Turk., Pers. <i>almās</i> “diamond”
دُرّ	Ar. <i>durr</i> “pearl”
جَوْهَر	Ar. <i>jawhar</i> “gem”
مِسْك	Ar., Pers. <i>misk</i> “musk”
أَنْبَر	Ar., Pers. <i>anbar</i> “ambergris”

[5]

سَقْدَا

144^v

هَمْ سَقْدَا تَتَدِ يَحْنَدُ ذِي تَدِ ذِي
دَسْدَا دَسْدَا هَمْ يَحْنَدُ يَحْنَدُ
دَسْدَا دَسْدَا دَسْدَا يَحْنَدُ
دَسْدَا دَسْدَا دَسْدَا يَحْنَدُ

144^v

Another one

Come, my beloved ones, my companions and brothers,
to rejoice and take pleasure in the sugar lips!

The teeth of his mouth resemble pearls of the sultans.

So my heart is boiled from the desire of him, and [my] liver burnt.

86 Or: shah Akbar.

Loanwords

قَرْدَاش	Turk. <i>qardaş</i> “brother”
لَیپ	Kurd. <i>lêv</i> “lip”
شَکَر	Pers., Turk. <i>şakar</i> “sugar”
لؤلؤ	Ar. <i>lu’lu’</i> “pearl”
سُلْطَان (sic!) = سُلْطَان	Ar., Pers., Turk. <i>sūlṭān</i> “sultan”
جِغَر	Pers. <i>jegar</i> “liver”

Conclusions

In the first half of the 16th century, the literary life of the East Syriac Church became more intensive than it had been since the destruction and massacres of Timur (d. 1405). This literary activity was undoubtedly connected with the formation of the Ottoman Empire, which provided a certain amount of stability to the economy and culture of the Middle East. As shown by the current study, ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta played a prominent role in the revival of literary life and manuscript culture in the 16th-century East Syriac community. As the second patriarch of the new Chaldean Church, he can be located at the origin of the corpus of texts used by this new community. In addition, ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta can be considered one of the most productive poets of this period, who left behind hundreds of works in the poetic forms common to this tradition. These include works intended for liturgical use, hagiographic poems, and numerous didactic poems. The fact that virtually all of this author’s texts known to us (except his letters) are written in verse probably reflects both his individual interests and the immense popularity of poetry in all spheres of church tradition by that time. Surprisingly, his poems occur in manuscripts belonging to all three current East Syriac patriarchates. Some of them were later included in standard liturgical books, such as the *turgāmā* on Mār Qūryāqōs. On the one hand, this is further evidence of how manuscripts and texts circulated in a common area. On the other hand, it speaks of the significance and diversity of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta’s poetic heritage.

In his poetic works, ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta followed the models developed by the poets of the Syriac Renaissance period, especially the era of the Mongol Ilkhanid dynasty (second half of the 13th to first half of the 14th centuries). In general, as a result of the long coexistence of Syriac culture with Persian and Arabic Islamic culture, the sphere of poetry was further expanding in the centuries following the Ilkhanids.

Although he lived in a new political and ecclesiastical situation, ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta used well-established poetic forms when writing. Notably, he composed several panegyrics in honor of contemporary popes, such as Julius III, Pius IV and Paul IV, as well as other Syriac literary and ecclesiastical figures.

By the mid-16th century, copying manuscripts had become an important part of the activities of prelates in various Syriac churches, thanks to the general concern with preserving and transmitting the literary tradition, something that perhaps first appeared during the Syriac Renaissance. They used to produce manuscripts not only for their own use, but also for the clerics under them, an important way of supplying the Church with authorized texts. That is why the “text authority” became such an important part of the colophon at that time.

It seems to have been after the Syriac Renaissance that prelates became very involved also in composing poetry. They introduced into Syriac poetry a number of new forms, including short poems, especially quatrains. The latter obtained even greater popularity by the 16th century, when upper clergy, scribes and readers habitually made poetic additions and notes on various subjects. Thus, as an essential part of the literary and spiritual life of the Church, manuscripts reflect many different layers and aspects of the Christian community in the Middle East.

Obviously, as a representative of the educated ecclesiastical elite, 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta followed this tradition; scribal work was a very important aspect of his life. Several manuscripts written in his hand have survived. Some of them were intended for his own use, others for his subordinate clerics. His scribal activity was presumably an important part of raising the overall level of East Syriac book culture in his time, as well as expanding the list of available works. In particular, it was thanks to 'Abdīšō' that the works of Bar 'Ebrōyō, in particular his *Metrical Grammar*, started to be actively copied by East Syriac scribes. In order to gain access to reliable *Vorlagen*, 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta visited West Syriac monasteries and maintained active contacts with educated churchmen in that tradition. One of them appears to have been Nī'matalah (d. 1576), a monk of the Dayr al-Za'farān monastery and future patriarch of the West Syriac Church, a famous encyclopedist as well as a draughtsman.

It has been established that 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta acquired manuscripts of various works by Syriac authors, especially those of the Syriac Renaissance. He probably did so in order to copy and disseminate them. Presumably, his scribal activities had an impact on the subsequent growth in availability and popularity of works by authors from the Syriac Renaissance, such as Bar 'Ebrōyō, in the East Syrian communities.

'Abdīšō' of Gazarta inserted his own poems into some manuscripts that he wrote and which contain works by various church authors, usually using the space between the main texts or on the flyleaves. Most likely, 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta intended to disseminate his poetic works in this way, combining the functions of an authoritative church scribe and a poet. These functions were conducted in the process of copying and distributing manuscripts within the church. Thus, 'Abdīšō' of Gazarta seems to have considered his function as a poet and scribe to be inextricably linked to his duties as a prelate. This poetic and scribal function consisted, among other things, of maintaining the church's book culture and developing literature in the Syriac language. Unlike many other poets, he did not compile a unified collection of his poems, seemingly because he did not set himself such a task. It is probable that his

ambition as a poet was subordinate to the aforementioned duties of a prelate and an authorized ecclesiastical scribe.

Based on the results of the present study, one can conclude that the literary circle in Gazarta during the second half of the 16th century contributed much to the literary development of both East Syriac patriarchates that existed at that time. Moreover, as mentioned above, it was the tradition of the East Syriac literary circle of the 16th century to combine poetic activity with both scribal tasks and priestly ministry. Thus, its most well-known poet, 'Abdišo' of Gazarta, was a patriarch and founder of the East Syriac Uniate literary tradition. At the same time, a poet and scribe named Darwiš, his fellow townsman and apparently his maternal uncle, belonged to the traditionalist patriarchal line. Another literateur from the same town, 'Abdišo's disciple 'Aṭṭāyē was one of the best known East Syriac scribes of the Ottoman time. Having moved to Alqosh, the main center of the traditional patriarchate, he contributed to the establishment of a tradition of manuscript production there. As far as one can judge from the information found in the manuscript colophons, the *literati* were still in contact with each other, despite belonging to rival Churches. Thus, one may assume that the literary circle at that period was ecumenical, grouped as it was primarily around geographic cultural centers and, to a certain extent, families. Thus, it was educated churchmen who defined the Syriac literary life and manuscript tradition in the Ottoman period. Subsequently, in the late 16th- early 17th century, the Gazarta circle of clerics-scribes-poets gave way to the Alqosh circle, after the former presumably had had a major impact on the latter.

These literary circles were producing both liturgical and non-liturgical poetry, generally following poetic forms created during the Syriac Renaissance, primarily in the Mongol era (13th–14th centuries). As the result of the long coexistence with Arabic and Persian Islamic culture, the sphere of poetry was further expanded in the successive centuries.

Not surprisingly, authors who formed these East Syriac literary circles spoke the languages of the surrounding peoples during this period. Syriac ceased to be spoken and was used mainly as an ecclesiastical language. There is no doubt that 'Abdišo' of Gazarta knew Arabic, as evidenced by a number of texts he wrote in that language, as well as Arabic works which are listed by him among the manuscripts he acquired. It was obviously an important task of the *literati* during this period to preserve the correct literary Syriac language. This is probably why works on Syriac grammar, as well as poems in Syriac on the benefits of reading books and learning grammar, were very popular.

The mass digitization of Syriac manuscripts and their online access has opened up new opportunities for researchers to study Syriac texts, including poetic texts. The next challenge is to describe in detail all the texts in these col-

lections and to include them in lists and databases. This is especially true for medium and short poetic texts that are not usually mentioned in manuscript catalogues. Only after this can we safely determine their authorship and distribution among the three contemporary East Syriac patriarchate lines and the manuscript production centers. This will help us to better understand the general picture of the Syriac poetry's circulation, in particular during the period under consideration.

List of Poems Ascribed to ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta in Extant Manuscripts

1 Trilogy: Poems on Yōḥannān Sullāqā

[‘*Ōnītā* on Yōḥannān Sullāqā’s travel to Rome]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

MSS: Vat. Sir. 45, 1556

Borg. Syr. 21, 16th cent.

Vat. Sir. 63, 1701

QACCT 119, 1930, fol. 16^r–34^v

[Story of Yōḥannān Sullāqā’s martyrdom]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

MSS: Vat. Sir. 45, 1556

Borg. Syr. 21, 16th cent.

Vat. Sir. 63, 1701

QACCT 119, 1930, fol. 34^v–41^r

[Mourning *madrāšā* on Yōḥannān Sullāqā’s death]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

MSS: Borg. Syr. 21, 16th cent.

Vat. Sir. 63, 1701

QACCT 119, 1930, fol. 41^r–42^r

2 *Mēmre* and Various Non-strophic Poems

[Non-strophic, 12 lines; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

By the scribe

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 126^r

[Non-strophic, multiline; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

By the scribe

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 126^r

[Non-strophic; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta]

In consolation of the deceased; by the scribe

Incipit: ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 129^r–131^r

[Non-strophic; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 125^v

[Non-strophic; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 127^r–127^v

[Non-strophic; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 128^r–128^v

[Non-strophic; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 115^v–116^v

[Non-strophic; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 116^v–117^v

[Poetic treatise on homographs]

About distinction between words, with explanations

By ‘Abdīšō’, bishop of Gazarta¹

Incipit: ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 183^v–198^v

ACK 11, 1716, fol. 218^r–232^v

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 106^r–120^r

ACE 145, 1873, fol. 109^r–126^r

¹ The words “bishop of Gāzartā” are written in a different hand.

Mēmṛā for rogation and prayer

Alphabetic acrostic

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܠܟ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 205^r–207^v

In a different way²

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܟ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 212^r–212^v

Mēmṛā on the speaking soul

By the same blissful one

Incipit: ܠܟ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 212^v–213^v

On the same subject

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܠܟ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 213^v–214^r

Stanzas on a point that distinguishes meter

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܠܟ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 214^r

On a different subject

By our master bishop ‘Abdīšō‘

Incipit: ܠܟ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 214^v–215^r

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܟ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ

Two acrostics—at the beginning and at the end of each verse (each letter repeats four times): ܠܟ ܕܝܫܐ / ܕܝܫܐ ܠܟ

No strophic division shown in the manuscript

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 215^r–215^v

² In the manuscript, the poem follows several *huttāmē*.

Complaining about the time and blaming it

By the same one

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 215^v–216^v

Strophic division shown, but the whole text has a monorhyme, typical for non-strophic poetry

Mēmra that should encourage a sinner to fight with demons to avoid hell

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 245^v–246^v

On exile; on the second reading

In the hand of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta, no authorship indication [SMMJ 159]

By Mār ‘Abdīšō’, the Catholicos [BNF Syr. 434]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

MSS: BNF Syr. 434, 16th–17th cent., fol. 201^v–203^r

SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 117^r–118^v

3 ‘Ōnyātā

[In the hand of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 119^r–123^r

Needed for the Rogation

By ‘Abdīšō’ the Catholicos

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

MSS: CCM 402, 16th–17th cent. (?), fol. 28^v–32^r

CCM 311, 1633, fol. 108^r–110^r

Ms. Orient. Fol. 619, 1715, fol. 72^v–74^r

On the martyr Stephan

By Mār ‘Abdīšō’

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

MSS: Ms. Orient. Fol. 619, 1715, fol. 107^v–110^r

For the Tuesday of the next week of Lent

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘, the great Catholicos

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

MSS: DCA 123, 1826, fol. 34^v–35^r

On Mār Qūryāqōs

By our father Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta, perfect bishop and wonderful pastor

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 172^v–182^v

CPB 100, 1780, fol. 159^v–178^v

On Mār Qūryāqōs

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘, Catholicos of the East

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

MSS: Ms. Orient. Fol. 619, 1715, fol. 182^v–186^v

CPB 100, 1780, fol. 178^v–187^v

For Consecration of the Church

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘, bishop of Gazarta

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

MSS: CPB 100, 1780, fol. 187^v–197^v

4 *Madrašē*

By ‘Abdīšō‘ the Catholicos

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

MSS: CCM 402, 16th–17th cent. (?), [Collection of hymns by different authors]; fol. 115^v–117^v

By ‘Abdīšō‘ the Catholicos, of Gazarta [*sic*]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

MSS: SMMJ 159, 17th cent. (?), fol. 81^v–82^{r3}

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

MSS: SMMJ 159, 17th cent. (?), fol. 108^r, 114^{v4}

3 Written in a different hand than ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta.

4 Written in a different hand than ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta.

5 *Turgāmē*

On Mār Qūryāqōs

By Mār ‘Abdīšō⁵

Incipit: ܡܪ ܩܘܪܝܐܩܘܨ ܡܪ ܐܒܕܝܫܐ ܡܪ ܩܘܪܝܐܩܘܨ

Alphabetic acrostic

MSS: DCA 49, 1529, fol. 61^r–61^v (written on a separate leaf in a different hand than the rest of the manuscript)

CCM 398, 1583, fol. 204^r–204^v

BNF Syr. 434, 16th–17th cent., fol. 203^r–204^r

CCM 400, 17th cent., fol. 72^v–74^r

Ms. Orient. Fol. 619, 1715, fol. 195^v–196^v

MS 57, Baghdad, Church of the East, 1733, fol. 31^r–32^r

DCA 102, 1761, fol. 44^r–45^r

MS 136, Baghdad, Church of the East, 1767, fol. 46^r–47^r

ACE 58, 1770, fol. 139^v–140^v

ACE 59, Chaldean Archdiocese of Erbil, 1770, fol. 43^v–44^v

CCM 182, 18th–19th cent., fol. 115^r–116^r

QACCT 132, Qalb Al-Aqdas Chaldean Church of Tell-Kaif, 18th–19th centuries, fol. 42^v–43^r

Before the Gospels

[On the pope of Rome]

By Abūn Mār ‘Abdīšō^c

Incipit: ܡܪ ܐܒܘܢ ܡܪ ܐܒܕܝܫܐ ܡܪ ܐܒܘܢ ܡܪ ܐܒܕܝܫܐ

Alphabetic acrostic

MSS: BNF Syr. 434, 16th century, fol. 204^r–205^r

6 *Ḥuttāmē*

By Mār ‘Abdīšō^c of Gazarta

Incipit: ܡܪ ܐܒܕܝܫܐ ܡܪ ܐܒܘܢ ܡܪ ܐܒܕܝܫܐ ܡܪ ܐܒܘܢ ܡܪ ܐܒܕܝܫܐ

Alphabetic acrostic

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 208^v–210^r

CCM 168, 1683, fol. 108^v–113^v

CCM 473, 1721, fol. 169^r–173^r

5 Ms. Orient. Fol. 619: By the blissful Catholicos Mār ‘Abdīšō^c of Gazarta.

CAM 8, 1880, fol. 67^v–69^v

DCA 115, 1881, fol. 13^r–17^r By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

Incipit: ܡܗ ܬܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܩܩܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܥܬܝܢ

CCM 473, 1721, fol. 173^v–175^v

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘

Incipit: ܡܗ ܬܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܩܩܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܥܬܝܢ

Alphabetic acrostic

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 210^r–211^r

CCM 168, 1683, fol. 113^v–116^v

MACCK 31, 1712, fol. 104^r–105^v

CAM 8, 1880, fol. 69^v–70^v

DCA 115, 1881, fol. 17^r–19^r

By the same one

Incipit: ܡܗ ܬܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܩܩܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܥܬܝܢ

CCM 168, 1683, fol. 119^v–122^r

MACCK 31, 1712, fol. 106^v–107^v

CAM 8, 1880, fol. 70^v–71^v

DCA 115, 1881, fol. 21^r–22^v (the final folio of the text is missing in the manuscript or missed at digitizing)

By the same one

Incipit: ܡܗ ܬܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܩܩܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܥܬܝܢ

Alphabetic acrostic

MSS: CCM 425, 1569, fol. 55^v–56^v

CCM 398, 1583, fol. 211^r–212^r

MACCK 39, 1664, fol. 142^r–143^r CCM 168, 1683, fol. 116^v–119^v

CCM 473, 1721, fol. 175^v–177^v

DCA 115, 1881, fol. 19^r–20^v

DCA 115, 1881, fol. 21^r–22^v (the initial folio of the text is missing in the manuscript or missed at digitizing)

7 Various Strophic Poems

[Strophic, with alphabetic acrostic; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

ܡܗ ܬܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܩܩܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܥܬܝܢ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 123^r–124^v

[Strophic, with alphabetic acrostic; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 123^r–124^v

Letter to Amid that he wrote in verse

[Anonymous; judging from the above rubric, ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta is meant]

ܬܠܝܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 262^v–263^r

[Beginning of the text seems to be missing]

[Anonymous]

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 247^r–248^r

[On Maphrian Basilios]

In the form of an ode

By Mār ‘Abdīšō’

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

Two acrostics—at the beginning and at the end of each verse:

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ / ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 248^r–248^v

Stanzas on a Maphrian, who became Patriarch

By Mār ‘Abdīšō’

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

Two acrostics—at the beginning and at the end of each verse:

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ / ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 248^v–249^r

By the same one

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

Two acrostics—at the beginning and at the end of each verse:

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ / ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 249^r–249^v

Ode to the brothers of the monastery of Jacob the Recluse, who lived near Dayr al-Za‘farān

[Anonymous]

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

Alphabetical acrostic

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 249^v–250^r

On the reception of the Fathers

Also by Mār ‘Abdīšō‘

Incipit: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

Alphabetical acrostic

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 250^v–251^r

[On Maphrian Basilios]

On letters of his name

Also by Mār ‘Abdīšō‘

Incipit: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

Double acrostic: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ / ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ; the second acrostic is made by a third last letter of each line

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 251^r–251^v

On the reception of the Fathers

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘

Incipit: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 251^v–252^r

Alphabetical acrostic

On the consolation about the death of Aḇrāhām Slōkāyā

By the same one

Incipit: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 252^r–253^r

Alphabetical acrostic

By the same one

Incipit: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

Acrostic is made of starting letters of each stanza: ܐܠܗܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 253^r–253^v

Poem for Easter

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 313^r

For Lent and Easter

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܬܬܬܬ ܠܢ ܚܝܬܐ ܬܬܬܬܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 313^r–314^v

Instruction, for those who are confused, about the foundation and calendar calculation; in quatrains

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܫܠܬ ܡܬܬܐ ܠܡܫܠܬܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 313^r–314^v

8 Poetic Colophons

[By Catholicos ‘Abdīšō; in his hand]

Incipit: ܬܬܬܬ ܠܢ ܚܝܬܐ ܬܬܬܬܐ

MSS: SMMJ 116, 1554, fol. 114^v

[By Catholicos ‘Abdīšō; in his hand]

Incipit: ܬܬܬܬ ܠܢ ܚܝܬܐ ܬܬܬܬܐ

MSS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 133^r

9 Verse Stanzas (Canons) for Ordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons

[Non-strophic, multiline; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta]

By the scribe

On the name of Amid

Incipit: ܬܬܬܬ ܠܢ ܚܝܬܐ ܬܬܬܬܐ

MS: SMMJ 116, 1554, fol. 120^r–120^v

[Non-strophic, multiline; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta]

By the scribe

On the name of the place Šembakayē (?)

Incipit: ܬܬܬܬ ܠܢ ܚܝܬܐ ܬܬܬܬܐ

MS: SMMJ 116, 1554, fol. 120^v

[In the hand of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta; no authorship indication]

On the name of Skandar

Incipit: **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ**

MS: SMMJ 116, 1554, fol. 135^r

[In the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta; no authorship indication]

On the name of ‘Abd al-Karīm

Incipit: **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ**

MS: SMMJ 116, 1554, fol. 135^r

[In the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta; no authorship indication]

On the name of Hābel

Incipit: **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ**

MS: SMMJ 116, 1554, fol. 135^v

[In the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta; no authorship indication]

On the name of Guryā

Incipit: **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ**

MS: SMMJ 116, 1554, fol. 135^v–136^r

[In the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta; no authorship indication]

On the name of Naṣṣār

Incipit: **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ**

MS: SMMJ 116, 1554, fol. 136^r

On [the name of] Aḇrāhām

By the saint and blissful Mār ‘Abdīšō‘, the bishop of Gazarta

Incipit: **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ**

APSTCH THRI 57, 18th–19th cent., fol. 114^r–115^r

On [the name of] Marqōs (Marcus)

By the saint and blissful Mār ‘Abdīšō‘, the bishop of Gazarta

Incipit: **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ**

APSTCH THRI 57, 18th–19th cent., fol. 114^r–115^r

On [the name of] David

By the saint and blissful Mār ‘Abdīšō‘, the bishop of Gazarta

Incipit: **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ**

APSTCH THRI 57, 18th–19th cent., fol. 115^r–115^v

On [the name of] ‘Aṭṭāyē

By the saint and blissful Mār ‘Abdīšō‘, the bishop of Gazarta

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

APSTCH THRI 57, 18th–19th cent., fol. 115^v

On his associate

By the saint and blissful Mār ‘Abdīšō‘, the bishop of Gazarta

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

APSTCH THRI 57, 18th–19th cent., fol. 116^r

On [the name of] Eliyā

By the saint and blissful Mār ‘Abdīšō‘, the bishop of Gazarta

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

APSTCH THRI 57, 18th–19th cent., fol. 116^r–116^v

On [the name of] Tō’mā

By the saint and blissful Mār ‘Abdīšō‘, the bishop of Gazarta

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

APSTCH THRI 57, 18th–19th cent., fol. 116^v–117^r

On [the name of] ‘Abd al-Aḥad

By the saint and blissful Mār ‘Abdīšō‘, the bishop of Gazarta

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

APSTCH THRI 57, 18th–19th cent., fol. 117^r

On [the name of] Šem‘ōn

By the saint and blissful Mār ‘Abdīšō‘, the bishop of Gazarta

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

APSTCH THRI 57, 18th–19th cent., fol. 117^v

10 Stanzas for the *Rite of Months*

[Short prayer for the rite of the months]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

MSS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 134^r [in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta; no authorship indication]

[Short prayer for the rite of the months]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

MSS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 134^r [in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta; no authorship indication]

[Stanza for the rite of the months]

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

Incipit: **هه تڤه ١ جڤه ١**

MSS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 135^v [in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta; no authorship indication]

CPB 79, 18th–19th cent., fol. 12^r

CCM 486, 18th cent., fol. 39^r

CPB 114, 1796, fol. 222^v

CCM 485, 19th cent., fol. 100^r

[Stanza for the rite of the months]

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

Incipit: **١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١**

MSS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 135^v [in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta; no authorship indication]

CPB 79, 18th–19th cent., fol. 12^r–12^v

CCM 486, 18th cent., fol. 39^r–39^v

CPB 114, 1796, fol. 222^v–223^r

CCM 485, 19th cent., fol. 100^r–100^v

[Stanza for the rite of the months]

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

Incipit: **١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١**

MSS: CCM 486, 18th cent., fol. 39^v

[Stanza for the rite of the months]

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

Incipit: **١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١**

MSS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 134^r [in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta; no authorship indication]

CCM 486, 18th cent., fol. 39^v

CCM 485, 19th cent., fol. 101^r

[Stanza for the rite of the months]

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

Incipit: **١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١ ١**

MSS: CCM 486, 18th cent., fol. 39^v

[Stanza for the rite of the months]

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

Incipit: ܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ

MSS: CCM 486, 18th cent., fol. 40^r

[Stanza for the rite of the months]

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

Incipit: ܕܩܝܡܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ

MSS: CPB 79, 18th–19th cent., fol. 12^v–13^r

CCM 485, 19th cent., fol. 100^r–100^v

[Stanza for the rite of the months]

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

Incipit: ܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ

MSS: CPB 79, 18th–19th cent., fol. 13^r

CCM 486, 18th cent., fol. 39^{v6}

CPB 114, 1796, fol. 223^r

CCM 485, 19th cent., fol. 100^v–101^r

[Stanza for the rite of the months]

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

Incipit: ܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ

MSS: CPB 79, 18th–19th cent., fol. 13^r–13^v

CPB 114, 1796, fol. 223^v

CCM 485, 19th cent., fol. 101^r

[Stanza for the rite of the months]

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

Incipit: ܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ

MSS: CPB 79, 18th–19th cent., fol. 13^v

CCM 486, 18th cent., fol. 40^r–40^v

CPB 114, 1796, fol. 223^v

CCM 485, 19th cent., fol. 101^r

11 Quatrains and Various Short Poems

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

6 In this manuscript, the first two words of the incipit differ: ܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ

Incipit: **بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم**

MS: DCA 65, 1553, fol. 3^r

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: **بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم**

MSS: DCA 65, 1553, fol. 3^v

CCM 24, 1555, fol. 3^v

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: **بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم**

MSS: DCA 65, 1553, fol. 3^v

CCM 24, 1555, fol. 3^v

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: **بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم**

MS: DCA 65, 1553, fol. 4^r

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: **بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم**

MSS: DCA 65, 1553, fol. 5^r

CCM 24, 1555, fol. 3^v

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: **بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم**

MSS: DCA 65, 1553, fol. 5^r

CCM 24, 1555, fol. 3^v

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: **بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم**

MSS: DCA 65, 1553, fol. 5^r

CCM 24, 1555, fol. 3^v

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: تەندە پەنجەن چو بۆجە تەندە کە دەقەند

MS: DCA 65, 1553, fol. 114^v

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: ئەو حەسەن حەسەن ئەو حەسەن حەسەن چو ئەو

MS: DCA 65, 1553, fol. 141^r

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: دەسەن دەسەن دەسەن دەسەن چو دەسەن

MS: DCA 65, 1553, fol. 142^r

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

Another, by the week one

Incipit: ئەو ئەو ئەو ئەو چو ئەو ئەو ئەو ئەو

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 125^v

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

By the scribe

Incipit: ئەو ئەو ئەو ئەو چو ئەو ئەو ئەو ئەو

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 127^v

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: ئەو ئەو ئەو ئەو چو ئەو ئەو ئەو ئەو

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 132^v

[Quatrain; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: ئەو ئەو ئەو ئەو چو ئەو ئەو ئەو ئەو

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 132^v

[Multiline riddle; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: ئەو ئەو ئەو ئەو چو ئەو ئەو ئەو ئەو

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 132^v

[Riddle; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 128^r

[Riddle; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 128^r

[6 lines; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 127^r

[6 lines; in the hand of ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta]

No authorship indication

To be read top to bottom and bottom to top

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

MS: SMMJ 159, 1567, fol. 127^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 198^r

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 120^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 198^r

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 120^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 120^r–120^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܠܟܡ ܕܥܡܐ ܐܕܡ ܚܡܐ ܕܩܠܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 198^r

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 120^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܠܟܡ ܕܥܡܐ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 198^v

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 120^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܕܥܡܐ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ**

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 121^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܠܟܡ ܕܥܡܐ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 198^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܠܟܡ ܕܥܡܐ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 198^v

ACE 141, 1801, 120^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܠܟܡ ܕܥܡܐ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 198^v

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 120^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܠܟܡ ܕܥܡܐ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 198^v–199^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܠܟܡ ܕܥܡܐ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܐܕܡ**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 199^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: מִי שֶׁלֹּא יָדָע לְהַשְׁמֵךְ בְּחֵץ וְלֹא יָדָע לְהַשְׁמֵךְ בְּחֵץ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 199^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: לֵב אֶחָד בְּדָבָר חָסֵד וְלֵב אֶחָד בְּדָבָר חָסֵד

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 199^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: הַיּוֹדֵעַ לְהַשְׁמֵךְ בְּחֵץ וְלֹא יָדָע לְהַשְׁמֵךְ בְּחֵץ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 199^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: מִי שֶׁלֹּא יָדָע לְהַשְׁמֵךְ בְּחֵץ וְלֹא יָדָע לְהַשְׁמֵךְ בְּחֵץ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 199^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: מִי שֶׁלֹּא יָדָע לְהַשְׁמֵךְ בְּחֵץ וְלֹא יָדָע לְהַשְׁמֵךְ בְּחֵץ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 199^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: מִי שֶׁלֹּא יָדָע לְהַשְׁמֵךְ בְּחֵץ וְלֹא יָדָע לְהַשְׁמֵךְ בְּחֵץ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 199^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: מִי שֶׁלֹּא יָדָע לְהַשְׁמֵךְ בְּחֵץ וְלֹא יָדָע לְהַשְׁמֵךְ בְּחֵץ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 199^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: מִי שֶׁלֹּא יָדָע לְהַשְׁמֵךְ בְּחֵץ וְלֹא יָדָע לְהַשְׁמֵךְ בְּחֵץ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 199^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **מִן הַיָּמִים הַהֵם הָיָה בְּיָמֵינוּ**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 200^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

[illegible]

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 200^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: 𐤀𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤕 𐤁𐤏𐤕 𐤁𐤏𐤕 𐤏𐤓𐤕

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 200^r

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **١٢٢** **بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 200^r

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ل**ح 2 **م**م 2 **ه** 2 **م**م 2 **ل**ح 2

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 200^r–200^v

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **בְּהַחֲזֹק הַיָּד הַזֶּה**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 200^v

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **قَسَمُكَ بِكَ بِهَيْبَةٍ كَلِمَةٍ صِدْقَةٍ**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 200^v

[Anonymous]

Incipit: 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 200^v

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **الحمد لله الذي جعل في كل**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 200^v–201^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **דמך העדסב דהסב דתכל תדסעב דמז**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 201^r

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 121^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **הס סתב דהסב דתכל תדסעב דמז**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 201^r

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 121^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **דמך העדסב דהסב דתכל תדסעב דמז**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 201^r

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 121^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **תדסעב דמז תדסעב דמז תדסעב דמז**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 201^r

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 121^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **הס סתב דהסב דתכל תדסעב דמז**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 201^v

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 121^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **הס סתב דהסב דתכל תדסעב דמז**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 201^v

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 121^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **הס סתב דהסב דתכל תדסעב דמז**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 201^v

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 121^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **לפני מכתבך ימי מלך של**MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 201^vACE 141, 1801, fol. 121^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **תחנך ממנו מלך דחלך דחלך דחלך**MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 201^vACE 141, 1801, fol. 121^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **זה דתסמכת סחלך ילך של**MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 201^v–202^rACE 141, 1801, fol. 121^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **סח דלחלך מלך מלך מלך מלך**MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 202^rACE 141, 1801, fol. 121^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **מלך מלך מלך מלך מלך מלך מלך**MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 202^rACE 141, 1801, fol. 122^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **מלך מלך מלך מלך מלך מלך מלך**MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 202^rACE 141, 1801, fol. 122^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **מלך מלך מלך מלך מלך מלך מלך**MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 202^rACE 141, 1801, fol. 122^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **יִשְׁמַחַן יִשְׁמַחַן מִלֵּן לִסְתִּיבִין**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 202^v

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 122^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **מִשְׁתָּהִן דְּנִיחַ לֵחַךְ שֶׁבְּמִן חֲמֵד בִּזְמַן חֲמֵד**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 202^v

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 122^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **דְּמִשְׁמַחַן מִחֵהֶן מִשְׁמַחַן מִשְׁמַחַן מִשְׁמַחַן**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 202^v

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 122^r–122^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **מִלֵּן לִסְתִּיבִין מִשְׁמַחַן מִשְׁמַחַן מִשְׁמַחַן**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 202^v

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 122^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **דְּמִשְׁמַחַן דְּמִשְׁמַחַן מִשְׁמַחַן מִשְׁמַחַן מִשְׁמַחַן**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 202^v

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 122^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **לִמֵּן דְּמִשְׁמַחַן מִשְׁמַחַן מִשְׁמַחַן מִשְׁמַחַן**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 202^v–203^r

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 122^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **מִשְׁמַחַן לִסְתִּיבִין מִשְׁמַחַן מִשְׁמַחַן מִשְׁמַחַן**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 203^r

ACE 141, 1801, fol. 122^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 203^rACE 141, 1801, fol. 122^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 203^rACE 141, 1801, fol. 123^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 203^r–203^vACE 141, 1801, fol. 123^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 123^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 123^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 123^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ ܕܠܚܕܐ ܡܚܬܐ

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 123^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **תשע דסע קט מכ הדיג הדיג הדיג**

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 124^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **הדיג, להדיג הדיג הדיג הדיג**

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 124^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **למדינה הדיג הדיג הדיג**

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 124^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **לך דסע הדיג הדיג הדיג**

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 124^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **תשע דסע הדיג הדיג הדיג**

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 124^r–124^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **הדיג הדיג הדיג הדיג**

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 124^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **הדיג הדיג הדיג הדיג**

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 124^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **לך דסע הדיג הדיג הדיג**

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 124^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܐܠܗ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܡܡܠܟܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ**

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 124^v

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ**

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 124^v–125^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ**

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 125^r

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ**

MSS: ACE 141, 1801, fol. 125^r

[Riddle in prose]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 204^v

On a different subject

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 253^v

On the same subject

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 253^v–254^r

[On a monk]

By the same one

Incipit: **ܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܝܬܐ**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 254^r

CCM 22, 1681, fol. 164^v

CCM 498, 18th century, fol. 65^v

Riddle

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܠܡܠܟ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 254^r–254^v

On a different subject

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܢ ܡܢ ܠܡܠܟ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 254^v

On a different subject

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܠܐ ܐܚܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 254^v–255^r

Another one, needed to be written on a staff

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܢ ܡܢ ܠܡܠܟ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 255^r

On wisdom

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܢ ܡܢ ܠܡܠܟ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 255^r

[On priest's belt and alter cloth in Mār Yōḥannān church that was ordered by Rabban Brahīm, written in 1855 AG/1544 CE]

By the same one

Incipit: ܡܢ ܡܢ ܠܡܠܟ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

2 stanzas, 4 lines each

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 255^r

[On the alter cloth of Mār Awgēn]

By the same one

Incipit: ܡܢ ܡܢ ܠܡܠܟ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 255^r

By the same one

Incipit: ܡܢ ܡܢ ܠܡܠܟ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 255^v

[Riddle]

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘

Incipit: ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܡܢ ܕܗܡܢܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 255^v–256^r

Another one

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܢ ܕܗܡܢܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 256^v

Another one

[Riddle]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܢ ܕܗܡܢܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 256^v

Riddle

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘

Incipit: ܡܢ ܕܗܡܢܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 256^v–257^r

[Riddle]

By the same one

Incipit: ܡܢ ܕܗܡܢܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 257^r

[Riddle]

Another one

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܢ ܕܗܡܢܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 257^r

[Riddle]

Another one

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܢ ܕܗܡܢܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ ܕܢܗܩܬܝ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 257^v

[Riddle]

Another one

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 257^v

[Riddle]

Another one

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 257^v

Riddle

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 257^v

[Riddle]

Another one

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 258^r

Stanza

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

CCM 398, 1583, fol. 258^r

These stanzas may be re bottom up and top down

By the same one

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

6 lines, each divided into 6 sections, read horizontally and vertically the same way

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 258^r

On the same subject

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ

[Anonymous]

6 lines, each divided into 6 sections, read horizontally and vertically the same way

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 258^r

On the same subject

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ**

6 lines, each divided into 6 sections, read horizontally and vertically the same way

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 258^r

About the Lord. On the same subject

By the same one

Incipit: **ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ**

6 lines, each divided into 6 sections, read horizontally and vertically the same way

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 258^v

On the same subject

By the same one

Incipit: **ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ**

6 lines, each divided into 6 sections, read horizontally and vertically the same way

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 258^v

On the Pope of Rome. In the same way

By the same one

Incipit: **ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ**

6 lines, each divided into 6 sections, read horizontally and vertically the same way

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 258^v

CCM 12, 1705–1719, fol. 291^v–292^r

Stanza

[On the Pope of Rome, anonymous]

Incipit: **ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ**

4 lines, each divided into 3 sections

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 258^v

CCM 12, 1705–1719, fol. 292^r

Arranged in quatrains

[On Pope Julius; anonymous]

Incipit: **ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܢ**

6 lines, each in 2 sections

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 259^r

CCM 12, 1705–1719, fol. 292^r

[On Pope Pius]

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘ of Gazarta

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ

6 lines, each divided into 6 sections, read horizontally and vertically the same way

MSS: CCM 402, 16–17th cent. (?), fol. 146^v CCM 12, 1705–1719, fol. 291^v

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ

4 lines, each divided into 3 sections

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 259^r

By the same one

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ

4 lines, each divided into 3 sections

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 259^r

By the same one

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ

4 lines, each divided into 3 sections

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 259^r

By the same one

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ

4 lines, each divided into 3 sections

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 259^r–259^v

In twelve syllable [meter]

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ

4 lines, each divided into 3 sections

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 259^v

By the same one

Incipit: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ

4 lines, each divided into 3 sections

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 259^v

Question

[Anonymous]

Incipit: **معه** **شاهان** **عظمى** **فهم** **كك** **مذوق** **ذلك** **قوة**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 259^v

By the same one

Incipit: **سأفهمكم في علمي هذا**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 259^v

By the same one

Incipit: **מִן דְּלִיכְהֻנָּה בְּמֵה בְּחֻשְׁתָּהּ הִתְּ מִלְּכָה**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 259^v–260^r⁷

By Mār ‘Abdīšō’

Incipit: **الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 260^v

Another one

[Anonymous]

Incipit: الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من هذا

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 260^v

By Mār ‘Abdīšō’

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 261^r

On the same subject

By Mār ‘Abdīšō’

Incipit: **אֵלֶּה הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁפֹּט אֶת כָּל הָאָדָם**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 261^v

By the same one

Incipit: אֲנִי הָיִיתִי בְּחַיֵּי הַמֵּתִים

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 261^v

7 Three poems ascribed to the priest Slibā follow; incipits:

[illegible]

Incipit: ܠܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 263^r

Another one

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܠܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 263^v

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 263^v

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 263^v

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 263^v

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘

Incipit: ܠܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 264^r

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 264^r

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 264^r

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 264^r

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 264^r

By the same one

Incipit: **هذ** **سلكه** **فهمه** **ح** **سلكه** **سلكه**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 265^r

By the same one

Incipit: **١٠٠**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 265^r

Riddle

By the same one

Incipit: **مكة في سنة تم مجتد ١٠٥٢** **حسب** **١٢٢٥**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 265^r

By the same one

Incipit: **تتم بددك مهلك** **د ددك**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 265^r

By the same one

Incipit: دسھج مہ صوم لے فیلے لے ت ہذت

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 265^v

By the same one

Incipit: **بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 265^v

By the same one

Incipit: **ق**ل يا محمد **ا**نت **م**رسل **م**ن رسل **م**رسلين **م**رسلين

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 265^v

By the same one

Incipit: **سومہ کہ ۲۱۲۸ ذبح حجۃ ۲۸۵**

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 265^v

By the same one

[illegible]

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 265^v

In the form of quatrains

[Anonymous]

Incipit: لَمَّا مَدَّ يَدَهُ إِلَى الْبَابِ فَجَاءهُ مُسْتَرْشِدًا

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 265^v

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܫܬܬܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 265^v–266^r

Riddle

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܠܫܬܬܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 266^r

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܫܬܬܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 266^r

By the same Mār ‘Abdīšō

Incipit: ܠܫܬܬܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 266^r

Stanza

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܠܫܬܬܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 266^r

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܫܬܬܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 266^r

[On Rabban Abrāhām]

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܫܬܬܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 266^v

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܫܬܬܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 266^v

By the same one

Incipit: ܠܫܬܬܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ ܕܡܩܬܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 266^v

By the same one

Incipit: ܡܢ ܗܝܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 266^v

Stanza

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܢ ܗܝܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 266^v

12 Prose Texts

Letter that he wrote to Amid

[Anonymous]

Incipit: ܡܢ ܗܝܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 262^r–262^v

On calendar indicts

By Mār ‘Abdīšō‘

Incipit: ܡܢ ܗܝܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

MSS: CCM 398, 1583, fol. 231^v–332^r

List of the Manuscripts Used

Poetic Trilogy on Yōḥannān Sullāqā by ‘Abdišō’ of Gazarta

Vat. Sir. 45	1556, Vatican Library (J.S. Assemani, <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementina Vaticana. De scriptoribus Syris Nestorianis</i> , vol. 2 (Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1625–1628), 302–305)
Borg. Syr. 21	16th century, Vatican Library
Vat. Sir. 63	1701, Vatican Library (Assemani, <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementina Vaticana</i> , vol. 2, 361–362)
QACCT 119	1930, Qalb Al-Aqdas Chaldean Church of Tell-Kaif ¹

Gospel of Matthew

CHAL 1	(formerly Diyarbakir (Scher) 130); 1554, Mar Petyun Keldani Kilisesi of Diyarbakır (Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Diarbékir,” 413–414; Kessel, “A Concordance to Addai Scher’s Catalogues,” 108) ²
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Gospel Lectionaries

MACCK 1	1295, Mar Addai Chaldean Church of Karamlesh (Jajika, “Manuscripts of the Karamlesh Church,” 85–86) ³
DFM 424	1560, Dominican Friars of Mosul, poetic translation, in Arabic ⁴
Borg. Syr. 169	1576, Vatican Library (Leroy, <i>Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés</i> , 404–408) ⁵

¹ Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/136583>.

² Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/599806>.

³ Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/510377>.

⁴ Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/134598>.

⁵ Available at the Vatican Library site: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Borg.sir.169.

Book of *Turgāmē*

- DCA 49** 1529, Chaldean Diocese of Alqosh (Sana, "Manuscripts of Al-Qosh Church," 241)⁶
- CCM 400** 17th century, Chaldean Cathedral of Mardin (Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Mardin," 74)⁷
- CCM 429** (formerly Diyarbakir 60); 1571, Chaldean Cathedral of Mardin (Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Diarbékir," 359–360)⁸
- MS 136** 1767 CE, Baghdad, Church of the East (Saliwa, *Catalogue*, no. 136)
- MS 57** 1733 CE, Baghdad, Church of the East (Saliwa, *Catalogue*, no. 57)
- DCA 102** 1761, Chaldean Diocese of Alqosh (Sana, "Manuscripts of Al-Qosh Church," 267)⁹
- ACE 58** 1770, Chaldean Archdiocese of Erbil¹⁰
- ACE 59** 1770, Chaldean Archdiocese of Erbil (Isaac, *Catalogue*, no. 61)¹¹
- QACCT 132** 18th–19th centuries, Qalb Al-Aqdas Chaldean Church of Tell-Kaif, fol. 42^v–43^r¹²

The Wardā Collection

- Ms. orient. Fol. 619** 1715, Berlin, the State Library (Sachau, *Verzeichniss der syrischen Handschriften*, 244–250, no. 65)

Book of Khāmīs

- CCM 419** (formerly Diyarbakir 91); 1395, Chaldean Cathedral of Mardin (Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Diarbékir," 391–392)
- Vat. Sir. 186** 1477, Vatican Library (Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementina Vaticana*, 401–404; Mengozzi, "The Book of Khāmīs bar Qardaḥe," 417–421)

6 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/208288>.

7 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132519>.

8 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132548>.

9 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/208327>.

10 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/134092>.

11 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/134093>.

12 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/136596>.

- CPB 100** (formerly **Mosul 81**); 1780, Chaldean Catholic Church, Patriarchate of Baghdad (Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Mossoul," 247).¹³

Metrical Grammar by Bar ʿEbrōyō

- DCA 65** 1553, Chaldean Diocese of Alqosh¹⁴
CCM 24 1555, Mardin, Chaldean cathedral¹⁵

Short Poems by Bar ʿEbrōyō

- Or. 298** 1487/8, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence (Takahashi, "The Poems of Barhebraeus," 125),
Huntington 1 1498, Bodleian Library, Oxford

Storehouse of Mysteries by Bar ʿEbrōyō

- SMMJ 41** 1474, St. Mark Monastery, Jerusalem (Dolabani, Ibrahim, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in St. Mark's Monastery*, 157)¹⁶
CFMM 78 14th century, Church of the Forty Martyrs, Mardin¹⁷
CFMM 77 15th–16th centuries (?), Church of the Forty Martyrs, Mardin¹⁸
CPB 124 1878, Chaldean Catholic Church, Patriarchate of Baghdad (Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Mossoul," 235)¹⁹
MACCK 65 1889, Mar Addai Chaldean Church of Karamlesh²⁰

13 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/503081>.

14 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/500565>.

15 Available at vHMML site: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132226>. See also Pritula, "East Syriac Literary Life."

16 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/126356>.

17 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/123497>.

18 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/123496>.

19 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/139224>.

20 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/510441>.

Rites of Consecration and Ordination

- SMMJ 116** 1554, St. Mark Monastery, Jerusalem (Dolabani, Ibrahim, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in St. Mark's Monastery*, 256–265)

Synodicon (Nomocanon) Collection by ‘Abdišō‘ Bar Briḳā

- CPB 410** 1564, Chaldean Catholic Church, Patriarchate of Baghdad (Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Mossoul,” 244)²¹

Explanation of the Words by Eliyā of Nisibis

- SOAH 56** 1547, Syriac Orthodox Archdiocese of Homs²²

Metrical life of Rabban Hormizd by Sargīs bar Waḥlē

- LSEM 1** 1615, Saint Paul (Minneapolis) Luther Seminary²³
CCM 411 1545–1546, Mardin, Chaldean Cathedral (Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Diarbékir,” 387)²⁴
DCA 127 18th century, Chaldean Diocese of Alqosh²⁵

Monastic Anthology Bustān al-Ruhbān

- SMMJ 272** 1300–1400, St. Mark Monastery, Jerusalem²⁶
HMIR 35 1673, Mishtāyah, Monastery of Saint George²⁷
OBA 461 1696–1771, Šarbā (Jūniyah), Ordre Basilien Alepin²⁸

21 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/500520>.

22 Available at vHMML site: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/512407>.

23 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/518613>.

24 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132530>.

25 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/208352>.

26 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/136488>.

27 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/125999>.

28 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/506510>.

ABMQ 387	1700–1742, Wadi al-Natrun, Dayr al-Qiddīs Anbā Maqār ²⁹
OBC 753	1755, Khinshārah, Ordre Basilien Choueirite ³⁰
HMIR 13	1786, Mishtāyah, Monastery of Saint George ³¹
OBA 463	18 century, Şarbā (Jūniyah), Ordre Basilien Alepin ³²
HMIR 18	18th century, Mishtāyah, Monastery of Saint George ³³
SHWA 18	18th century, Shwayyā (Matn), Monastery of Saint Elias ³⁴
CCM 17	18th century, Mardin, Chaldean cathedral ³⁵
SCAA 7 168	18th century (?), Syriac Catholic Church. Archdiocese of Aleppo ³⁶
ABMQ 369	18th–19th centuries, Wadi al-Natrun, Dayr al-Qiddīs Anbā Maqār ³⁷
OBA 462	1802, Şarbā (Jūniyah), Ordre Basilien Alepin ³⁸
CCM 19	19th century, Mardin, Chaldean cathedral ³⁹
ABMQ 368	19th century, Wadi al-Natrun, Dayr al-Qiddīs Anbā Maqār ⁴⁰
ABMQ 372	1890, Wadi al-Natrun, Dayr al-Qiddīs Anbā Maqār ⁴¹
CFMM 435	1897, Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs ⁴²
ABMQ 371	1900, Wadi al-Natrun, Dayr al-Qiddīs Anbā Maqār ⁴³
ABMQ 370	1916, Wadi al-Natrun, Dayr al-Qiddīs Anbā Maqār ⁴⁴

Miscellanea

CCM 113	(formerly Diyarbakir 50); 1553, Mardin, Chaldean cathedral (Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Diarbékir,” 354; Pritula, “One More Unknown Khāmīs’ Ode,” 189–190)
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- 29 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/51613>.
30 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/126430>.
31 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/125977>.
32 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/506512>.
33 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/125982>.
34 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/119799>.
35 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/132219>.
36 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/512800>.
37 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/51603>.
38 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/506511>.
39 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/132221>.
40 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/51602>.
41 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/51606>.
42 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/503704>.
43 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/51605>.
44 Available at vHML: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/51604>.

SMMJ 159	1567, St. Mark Monastery of Jerusalem (Dolabani, Ibrahim, <i>Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in St. Mark's Monastery</i> , 339–344) ⁴⁵
CCM 398	(formerly Diyarbakir 95); 1583, Mardin, Chaldean cathedral (Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Diarbékir,” 95) ⁴⁶
BnF syr. 434	16th century (?), Paris, the National Library of France (Briquel-Chatonnet, <i>Manuscrits syriaques</i> , 178–183)
CCM 402	(Macomber 60.7); 16th–17th centuries (?), Mardin, Chaldean cathedral ⁴⁷
SMMJ 200	between 1644 and 1651, St. Mark Monastery of Jerusalem
CCM 12	(Macomber 81.3); 1705–1719, Mardin, Chaldean cathedral ⁴⁸
CCM 182	part 2, 18th century, Mardin, Chaldean cathedral (Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits ... de Diarbékir,” 70–71) ⁴⁹
CCM 367	1781, Mardin, Chaldean cathedral ⁵⁰
CPB 79	18th–19th centuries, Chaldean Catholic Church. Patriarchate of Baghdad ⁵¹
APSTCH THRI 57	18th–19th centuries, Chaldean Syrian Church of Trichur ⁵²

45 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/501291>.

46 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132517>.

47 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132521>.

48 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132214>.

49 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/501939>.

50 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132486>.

51 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/503060>.

52 Available at vHMML: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/138278>.

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Abbreviations

AB	Analecta Bollandiana
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
ECS	Eastern Christian Studies
EVO	Egitto e Vicino Oriente
GEDSH	Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage
JAAS	Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies
J ECS	Journal of Eastern Christian Studies
JCSSS	Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
OA	Oriental Art
OC	Oriens Christianus
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OS	Orient Syrien
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
TSEC	Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ВГ	Волшебная Гора
КСИНА	Краткие сообщения Института народов Азии
ППС	Православный Палестинский Сборник
ПС	Палестинский Сборник
ХВ	Христианский Восток (Христiанскiй Востокъ)

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‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta: Patriarch, Poet and Scribe focuses on the literary legacy of the prominent East Syrian poet and churchman who lived in the 16th century. The role of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta for East Syriac ecclesiastical poetry is significant. He was the second patriarch of the Chaldean Church and the founder of its literary tradition.

This book also explores for the first time the manuscript autographs of ‘Abdīšō’ of Gazarta, previously unavailable to scholars. In addition, many of this author’s poetic texts are critically published and translated for the first time.

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